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ARRIAN

ARRIAN

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY

E. ILIFF ROBSON, B.D.

YC 38

ANABASIS ALEXANDRI

Books I—IV

IN TWO VOLUMES

I

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PREFATORY NOTE

The text of this edition is that of Dübner, ed. Didot; and this in turn is that of the Parisian MS. usually noted as B, but by Dübner as A. B, Codex Parisinus gr. 1753, fifteenth century, is, with C (Constantinopolitanus, fifteenth century), almost certainly directly derived from a copy of A, first hand; and since the lacuna of VII. 12. 7 represents a loss of an exact page of A, Roos is no doubt correct in regarding A as the archetypal text. A, Codex Vindobonensis, twelfth or early thirteenth century, was corrected later, and the text of A^3 is represented by k, the "Florentine best codex" of Gronow, also used by Dübner, to whom the agreement of B and k is paramount. A has gaps, owing to loss or damage of pages; and the "second group" of MSS. have in common a large number of smaller lacunae; so that B and C, with k (from A^3), alone are without lacunae (save for the common lacuna of Book VII).

For the *Indica*, A with B give the best text. Arrian's attempt at Herodotean dialect is creditable, but not without errors.

The task, therefore, of an editor of the *Anabasis* is comparatively easy; but this does not mean that ordinary critical methods can be omitted. There are two directions, in especial, in which editors have moved. On the one hand there is a natural tendency to "atticise" Arrian. His tenses are not always

according to rule, he uses the imperfect of continued action. His prepositions are sometimes strange. He even uses πρὸς for ἐπὶ στόμα. He seems to misquote τε and γε, and he does not always correspond to its use. Kruger and Sintenis have done much to put him right; but such correction is based on the idea that the Greeks always used their best texts. Then again, Arrian, desiring clearness, repeats himself much and unnecessarily, and this leads to a crop of similar endings, from which either confusion has resulted, see I. 12. 2, or omissions, usually small, have been freely suspected. A similar cause arises from his rather unusual use of τε and γε.[1] My own view is on the whole against the proposed insertions and always against the attributing tendencies of editors. B, C and L are, as has been seen, free from the many lacunae of the "second group" of MSS. and we can hardly be wrong in default of A in adopting a consensus of A[1] − L. B1. Laurentian fifteenth century, which according to Rose is the best representative of the "second class" of MSS. I have naturally made much use of the apparatus of Rose, ed. Teubner major, 1887; but I do not record suggestions which, while interesting enough, appear on Rose's own estimate of the MSS. unnecessary, nor variants of proper names except where there is difference of persons, e.g. IV. 19. 3 and IV. 21. 1, 22. 1; nor as a rule the evidence of Suidas and Eustathius, nor the variants found in the Paroemiographi. Verses of Tyrtaeus, from II. 15. and 25. Again, while precision in word forms is important, yet where one cannot dogmatise, e.g. as to ἐμοῦ and ἐμεῦ, I. 21. 4, and the translation is

[1] II. 1. 3. [1] See e.g. I. 7. 2.

not affected, I have not deserted the MSS. Thus Arrian's pluperfects form a constant bone of contention for those who desire to contend, but neither Cobet nor Lobeck can assure us further than that Arrian ought to have written this and that, again even inscriptions seem erroneous at least in one proper name, Ἠιονεύς (II 12 3), and certain ascriptions of parentage, and even historical and geographical notes, appear to contain errors of Arrian, and not of the copyists, who, however, mistake now and then numerical symbols (see II 27 3).

Those who desire a full critical apparatus will turn to Roos, to whom due acknowledgment is here made. There is no lack there of sound and often brilliant suggestions (including those of Poste), but since emendation belongs rather to a text which is impossible or difficult to translate as it stands, than to a text which may merely lack finish or precision, the *Anabasis* of Arrian hardly seems a good subject for this attractive art.

I have confined my own suggestions to a single passage of I 1 6.

Editions, Translations, etc.

Apart from Gronovius's edition, we have for the *Anabasis*, Abicht, 1875 and 1889, Krüger, 1835, Sintenis, 1867, Roos, ed. Teubner maior, 1907, there is a school edition of Books I and II by H. W. Auden (Blackwood), 1902, otherwise a paucity of school editions of so interesting an authority. Chinnock's (E. J.) translation of *Anabasis* and *Indica*, with useful notes, is out of print. The *Indica* has appeared in the excellent Paris series (text and translation, Association G. Budé).

PREFATORY NOTE

Considerable portions of *Anabasis* and *Indica* appear, in good translations, in the five volumes which make up J. W. McCrindle's *History of Ancient India*. See also the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VI (W. W. Tarn), and the *Cambridge History of India*; also Pelham in *English Hist. Review*, Oct. 1896. Arrian does not attract scholars to any extent in the learned periodicals or year-books; recent volumes of *Burmeister's Year-Book* have some short notes. The *Journal of Hellenic Studies* within recent years has interesting notes (W. W. Tarn, vol. xlviii (ii.), I. R. Taylor, xlvii. (i.) and xlviii. (i.), "Daimon of the Persian King", A. D. Nock, xlviii. (i.), "Ruler Cult, on the question of prostration" (*proskynesis*) before Alexander. This act naturally provokes controversy, but we may doubt whether even Alexander himself was quite clear what it did or might, connote). Arrian's general trustworthiness comes in for a good deal of discussion in these articles.

ARRIAN (FLAVIUS ARRIANUS)

The facts of Arrian's life are simple. He was a Greek, born at Nicomedia about A.D. 96, and his *floruit* therefore falls in the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Hadrian appointed him Governor of Cappadocia 131 to 137, and as he saw some military service, he writes as an expert. This post was a most unusual honour for a Greek. He was Archon at Athens in 147, and died probably about 180. As a pupil of Epictetus he wrote up lecture notes or *memorabilia*, and is an important authority for his master's teaching.

His value as a historian of Alexander depends (as

W. W. Tarn points out in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VI.) on the rather insoluble question, how far official history is accurate history. For Arrian makes no secret of his adherence to two main authorities, Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus. Of the former, he naively remarks that, as a king, he was not likely to falsify, moreover, that, writing after Alexander's death, he would not stand to gain anything by flattery. This view does more credit to Arrian's regard for royalty than to his critical sense. Ptolemaeus might have a good deal to gain after Alexander's death by glorifying his own part in the expedition. Mahaffy (*Greek Life and Thought*, p. 206) speaks of "Ptolemy's account ... in which no doubt he gave no carping or incomplete story of his own achievements", and in a footnote on the same page adds "Ptolemy (Soter) has had curious fates as an author. While Arrian praises his *Memoirs* of Alexander as the soberest and most veracious book, his name was afterwards prefixed to the fables ascribed to Callisthenes, and there is extant (C. Müller's *Praefatio in Pseudo-Callisthenem*, p. xxvii) an epigram on his ignorance and deceit from a mediaeval reader."

Let us, however, put aside any suspicions that Ptolemaeus was one of the jackals who sought his titbits of glory from the leavings of the lion's feast, and let us discount mediaeval epigrams, the question still arises, if Ptolemaeus wrote what would be counted accurate official history of Alexander's marches and victories, is such official history likely to be accurate from our present-day standpoint? And Arrian clearly regards Ptolemaeus as his chief authority.

Readers will have opportunity of forming their own

views on this question, as they will also be able to read Arrian's own little self revelations and the expressions of his own opinions. It is to his credit that where he feels it to be his duty he does not fear to criticize severely Alexander himself. Though he was something of a military expert, and describes the customary manoeuvres of Alexander clearly enough, he becomes rather obscure where anything unusual occurs. Ordinarily he is a readable and rather dull historian, but—in common with other ancient historians—he sometimes uses two or more authorities without making a very successful blend.

That he soberly eschews, for the most part, the romantic elements in Alexander's career, gives him an especial value in view of the regrettably inadequate documentation of one of the greatest of all military exploits.

Alexander's Troops, Tactics, and Arrian's Terminology.

Alexander's tactics were, fortunately, of the simplest kind, though most effective, especially against "native" troops. His centre was the "phalanx," his right was his best and heaviest cavalry, his left was other cavalry, and outside the right wing, and possibly the left, were archers and other light troops. The exact employment of the whole force varied with the ground, but on normal ground, and Alexander could usually choose his positions, the left wing at first merely held firm, and the centre was a solid pivot for the right wing, which charged down upon the "shield-side" of the enemy's troops and often even drove them on to the pikes of the phalanx in the centre and the thrusting spears of

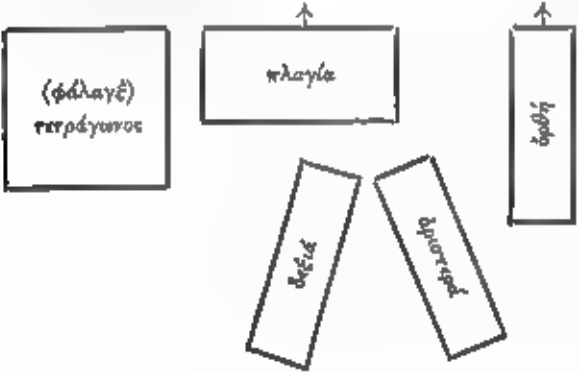
the cavalry on the left. The "phalanx" in the centre occupied and diverted the enemy, but would not usually advance far unless the customary swing from the right was somehow impeded, or became irregular.

Arrian's accounts of Alexander's tactics and descriptions of his troops are not, however, particularly clear, nor indeed does he use the same terms always in the same way. His usual technical terms, working downward, are *στρατός*, *στρατόπεδον*, and *φάλαγξ*, which should mean a part of the army, namely, that part of the infantry which was armed with long spears, but sometimes seems to be used for the army itself. The subdivisions of the *φάλαγξ* are *τάξεις*, a word also used sometimes technically, sometimes not. These *τάξεις* were probably organized on a territorial basis. The word *ἴλαρχος* is especially troublesome. Often it apparently has no special significance, it is used, as in the compound just quoted, as we use 'territorials,' i.e. troops acquainted with one another, comrades members of the same district. But some of these troops who were indeed practically the whole of the true born Macedonian forces were attached to Alexander's person as part of his bodyguard. Whether Arrian means us to understand "Companions (of Alexander)" when he so uses the word is not certain; but he uses *ἴλαρχος* as a sort of title, just as he does *ἴλαρχος* or *τάξις βασιλική*, "Squires of the King," or perhaps "Sons of (Macedonian nobles." Besides the *ἴλαρχος* proper, whether *τοξόται* or *ἀκοντισταί* there were *τάξεις*, a general term for light armed troops that is, troops with light defensive protection, and certain auxiliary troops denoted by their specific titles, but also *ξένοι* or mercenaries,

namely, Thessalians, Boeotians, and others, notably the Agrianes, who were capital mountaineers and skirmishers.

Now we come to a large force, partly of ὑπασπισταί, who formed Alexander's guards, and his actual bodyguard. Probably nearest to him were the "squires," who formed his staff. Next would come any specially selected φύλακες, and next (also, in the wider sense, ἑταῖροι) the σωματοφύλακες, called τὸ ἄγημα τὸ βασιλικόν, and probably the same as the ἀργυράσπιδες. But this quite large force of "bodyguards" and "guards" was not merely a protection for their courageous and even rash leader, but rather formed a special body of shock troops, easily and swiftly manœuvred, and ready for any sudden forced march or hazardous assault.

The manœuvring of the army is expressed thus. A phalanx is always rectangular, if not always a square. A diagram gives the technical terms;



The phalanx was not the rigid body it is often represented to be by historians. It could be elongated as shown above (the word is πλαγία, to an oblong, that is, a column in line, or narrowed (ἐμβή), when an enemy front was to be pierced.

When, however, flank attacks were expected the phalanx would be thrown into a long line (as at Gaugamela ; the centre might be advanced ; it was then two-fronted right and left incline), or occasionally the line would be concave, not convex, if the phalanx was itself outflanking an enemy Sometimes the phalanx was in wedge or arrow-head formation, ἔμβολον, but not, we must remember, a closed wedge. The closest possible order was συνασπισμός, "shield locked with shield"

Dr Hogarth (*Philip and Alexander*) has a valuable passage on the Macedonian army, modifying certain views of his earlier pamphlet.

Aeneas Tacticus and others), translated in this Library, will give some help, but must be used with caution. They do not exactly represent our period.

A Geographical Note.

Alexander's routes are for the most part easy to follow in any serious atlas. It is not always so easy to see why he chose his routes.

Great interest has been recently aroused by Sir Aurel Stein's publication (in *The Geographical Journal* for November and December, 1927, and in his work *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*, Macmillan, 1929) of his discovery of the site of Aornos, which he places on the ridge of Pir-s'ar, situated in the bend of the Indus, westward of its course, that is, on the right

bank, due north of Gunangar and east by north of Chakdara.

The ridge fits Arrian's description well, save that (to a mere reader, who has not seen it) it would not appear capable of supporting the population which Arrian ascribes to it.

But a graver question is whether Arrian's description is necessarily precise. The diversion so far up the Indus appears unnecessary; and one may be rather inclined to suspect that Alexander went northward feeling his way for some valley or pass which he did not discover, was held up by some militant tribe, which manned its Acropolis, and took a good deal longer to "smoke out" than Alexander had expected. He returns southward, and his literary followers have to excuse both the diversion and the check by inventing particular reasons why Alexander should have desired to storm this particular rock.

Perhaps all we can say is that, of Arrian is precise, Sir Aure. Stein is almost certainly accurate in his choice of the site.

ARRIAN

ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER

BOOK I

ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΥ

ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

[ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ]

Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ
Ἀριστοβούλου ὅσα μὲν ταὐτὰ ἄμφω περὶ
Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου ξυνέγραψαν, ταῦτα
ἐγὼ ὡς παντὴ ἀληθῆ ἀναγράφω, ὅσα δὲ οὐ
ταὐτά, τούτων τὰ πιστότερα ἐμοὶ φαινόμενα καὶ
2 ἅμα ἀξιαφηγητότερα ἐπιλεξάμενος. Ἄλλοι μὲν
δὴ ἄλλα ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνέγραψαν, οὐδ' ἔστιν
ὑπὲρ ὅτου πλείονες ἢ ἀξυμφωνότεροι ἐς
ἀλλήλους· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ Πτολεμαῖός τε καὶ Ἀριστό-
βουλος πιστότεροι ἔδοξαν ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν, ὁ
μὲν ὅτι συνεστράτευσε βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ,
Ἀριστόβουλος· Πτολεμαῖος δὲ πρὸς τῷ ξυστρα-
τεῦσαι ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ ὄντι αἰσχρότερον
ἢ τῷ ἄλλῳ ψεύσασθαι ἦν ἄμφω δέ, ὅτι τετε-
λευτηκότος ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρου ξυγγράφουσιν αὐτοῖς
ἥ τε ἀνάγκη καὶ ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ ἄλλως τι ἢ ὡς
3 συνηνέχθη ξυγγράψαι ἀπῆν. Ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ
πρὸς ἄλλων ξυγγεγραμμένα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ
ἀξιαφηγητά τέ μοι ἔδοξε καὶ οὐ πάντη ἄπιστα,
ὡς λεγόμενα μόνον ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνέγραψα.

ARRIAN

ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER

BOOK I

[PREFACE.]

Wherever Ptolemy son of Lagus and Aristobulus son of Aristobulus have agreed in their histories of Alexander son of Philip, I record their story as quite accurate; where they disagree I have chosen what I feel to be more likely and also better worth the narrating. Others have given various accounts of Alexander, in fact there is no one over whom historians have been more numerous and less harmonious. My own view is that Ptolemy and Aristobulus are more trustworthy narrators, for Aristobulus took the field with King Alexander; Ptolemy not only did the same, but, as he was a king himself, falsehood would have been more shameful to him than to anyone else. Besides, since Alexander was dead when they both wrote their histories, there lay on them neither any constraint nor any hope of gain in writing other than plain fact. Parts, however, of the records of others, such as appeared to me worthy of narration and not wholly untrustworthy, I have included as so much tradition about Alexander. Should anyone be sur-

Ὅστις δὲ θαυμάσεται διότι ἐπὶ τοσοῖσδε συγγραφεῦσι καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἦλθεν ἡδὲ ἡ συγγραφή, τά τ' ἄλλων πάντα τις ἀναλεξάμενος καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐντυχὼν οὕτω θαυμαζέτω.

1. Λέγεται δὴ Φίλιππον τελευτήσαι ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πυθοδήμου Ἀθήνησι· παραλαβόντα δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλέξανδρον, παῖδα ὄντα Φιλίππου, ἐς Πελοπόννησον παρελθεῖν· εἶναι δὲ τότε περὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν, ἔτη Ἀλέξανδρον. Ἐνταῦθα ξυναγαγόντα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὅσοι ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου ἦσαν, αἰτεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας στρατιᾶς ἣντινα Φίλιππος ἤδη ἐδόκει· καὶ αἰτήσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἑκάστων πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων· Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι μὴ εἶναι σφίσι πάτριον ἀκολουθεῖν ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἄλλων ἡγεῖσθαι. Νεωτερίσαι δὲ ὄντα καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν πόλιν· ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίους γε τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκπλαγέντας καὶ πλέονα ὅτι τῶν Φιλίππῳ δοθέντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εἰς τιμὴν ξυγχωρῆσαι. Ἐπανελθόντα δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι τοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν στόλου.

4 Ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, ἐς Τριβαλλοὺς καὶ Ἰλλυριούς, ὅτι τε νεωτερίζειν ἐπύθετο Ἰλλυριούς τε καὶ Τριβαλλούς, καὶ ἅμα ὁμόρους ὄντας οὐκ ἐδόκει ἀπολιπεσθαι ὅτι μὴ πάντη τετειχισθέντας αὐτὸν μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς 5 εἰκείας στέλλοντα. Ὁρμηθέντα δὲ ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς Θρᾴκην τὴν τῶν αὐτονόμων καλουμένων Θρᾳκῶν. Φιλίππους πόλιν ἐν

prised, when there is such abundance of writers, that it should have occurred to me also to compose this history, I beg him to reserve his surprise till he has first surveyed their work and made the acquaintance of mine.

1 The death of Philip is placed in the archonship of Pythodemus at Athens; Alexander, then about twenty, succeeded, being Philip's son, and came into the Peloponnesus; so runs the story. There he gathered together the Peloponnesian Greeks and requested from them the leadership of the Persian expedition, which they had already granted to Philip. All agreed except the Lacedaemonians, who replied that their country's custom did not permit them to follow others; it was theirs to take the lead of others. The Athenians also made some show of violence; but they collapsed at Alexander's first approach and conceded to him a position even more honourable than had been given to Philip. Alexander then returned to Macedonia and began to get ready for the Asian expedition.

In the spring he went Thracewards, to the Triballi and Illyrians, since he learned that they were restless; moreover, as they marched with his borders, he did not think well to leave them behind him, when going on an expedition so far from home, unless they were thoroughly subdued. Starting from Amphipolis, he invaded Thrace, that is, the territory of the independent Thracians, with Philippi

ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντα καὶ τὸν Ὄρβηλον τὸ ὄρος. Διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Νίσσαν ποταμὸν λέγουσιν ὅτι δεκαταῖος ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Αἷμον. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὁπηνίκα αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰ στενὰ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῶν τε ἐμπόρων[1] πολλοὶ ἐπιλελειμμένοι καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ αὐτόνομοι, παρασκευασμένοι εἴργειν τοῦ πρόσω κατειλήφεσαν τὴν ἄκραν τοῦ Αἵμου τὸν στολον, παρ' ὃν ἦν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡ παροδος. Ξυναγαγόντες δὲ ἅμαξας καὶ προβαλόμενοι πρὸ σφῶν ἅμα μὲν χαρακὶ ἐχρῶντο ταῖς ἁμάξαις εἰς τὰ ἀπομαχεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, αἱ διαζοιντο, ἅμα δὲ ἐν τῷ εἶχον ἐταφίσεσι ἀνιοῦσιν ἢ ἀποτομωτατον τοῦ ὄρους ἐπὶ τὴν φυλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων τὰς ἁμάξας. Γνωμην δὲ ποιοῦνται ὅτι ἅμα τυκνοτερᾳ τῇ φαλαγγι καταφερομεναι συμμίξουσιν αἱ ἅμαξαι, τοσῷδε μᾶλλον τι διασκεδασουσιν αὐτὴν βιᾳ ἐμπεσουσαι.

5 Ἀλεξανδρῳ δὲ βουλὴ γίγνεται ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα ὑπερβαλῃ τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐδόκει διακινδυνευντεια· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἄλλῃ τὴν παροδον), παραγγέλλει τοῖς σπλίταις, ὁπότε καταφεροιντο κατὰ τοῦ ἀρθιου αἱ ἅμαξαι, ὅσοις μὲν ἐδοκει πλατεῖα οὖσα παρέχοι λύσαι τὴν ταξιν, τουτους δὲ διαχωρῆσαι, ὡς δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιοῦσαν τὰς ἁμάξας

6 ἐσοι δὲ περιεταλαμβανοιντο, ξυστησαντας, τοις δὲ καὶ πιεσοντας ἐς τῆν συγκλείσαι ἐς ἀκριβὲς τὰς ἁμαξας καὶ τῷ ῥυμῳ κατὰ τὸ εἰκος ὑπερπη-

[1] ἐμπόρων Cobet may be correct, since the "carts" below suggest an armed caravan. ὁπλίτων Krüger, but ὁπλίτων is rather nearer.

and Mount Orbelus on his left. Then—so the historians tell us—he crossed the river Nessus and in ten days reached Mount Haemus, where there met him in the defile of the approach to the mountain many of the merchants in arms and the independent Thracians; they had occupied the height of Haemus, and were all ready to bar the progress of the expedition, which must needs pass the height. Collecting carts, and throwing them in advance, they proposed to use the carts as a stockade from which to put up a defence, if they were pressed; but it was also part of their strategy to launch the carts at the Macedonian phalanx as the troops mounted the slope just where the mountain was most sheer. Their idea was that the closer the phalanx when the descending carts charged it, the more their violent descent would scatter it.

Alexander, however, consulted how he could most safely cross the ridge; and since he saw that the risk must be run, for there was no way round, he sent orders to his men-at-arms that at whatsoever time the carts swooped down the slope upon them, those who, being on level ground, could break formation, were to part to right and left, leaving an avenue for the carts; those who should be caught in the narrows were to form close together; and some actually falling to the ground were to link their shields closely together so that the carts coming at them and (as was to be hoped) bounding over them by their gathered impetus should pass

ἄκοντας ἀβλαβῶς ἀπελθεῖν. Καὶ οὕτω ξυνέβη ἅπαντα παραχρῆμα τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ εἵπετο
10 Οἱ μὲν γὰρ διέσχον τὴν φάλαγγα, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσπίδων ἀποτιλιεθέντες ὀλίγα ἔβλαψαν ἀνέβαινε δὲ οὐδεὶς ὑπὸ ταῖς ἄμαξαις. Ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Μακεδόνες θαρσήσαντες ὅτι ἀβλαβεῖς αὐτοῖν, ἐς μάλιστα ἐδίδοσαν, οἱ ἅμαξαι ἐγένοντο, σὺν
11 βοῇ δὲ τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἐνέβαλον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς τοξότας μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης φαλαγγος, ὅτι ταύτῃ εὐπορώτερα ἦν, ἐλθεῖν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐκτοξεῦσαι δὲ τοὺς Θρᾷκας ὅση προσφέροιντο· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ ἄγημα καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας κατὰ
12 τὸ εἰωνυμὸν ἦγεν. Ἔνθα δὴ οἱ τοξόται βάλλοντες τοὺς προσβεβοηκότας τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ἀνεστέλλον· καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ προσμίξασα οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐξέωσε δὲ τῆς χώρας ἀνδρώπους ψιλοὺς καὶ κακῶς ὡπλισμένους βαρβάρους· ὥστε Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰωνύμου ἀναγαγόντα σὺν τῇ ἱππῳ ἐλάσαι. ἀλλὰ ῥίψαντες ἑαυτοὺς πρόχωροι τὰ ὄπλα κατὰ τοῦ ὄρους
13 ἔφυγον. Καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους· ζωγρεῖ δὲ ἄνδρες μὲν ὀλίγοι ἁλῴσκουσιν· ἐς ἅπαντα καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐμπεσόντα, γυναῖκες δὲ ὅσαι ξυνέπεσον αὐτοῖς ταλαίπωροι πᾶσαι, καὶ τὰ παιδάρια καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ πάσα ἁλίσκεται.

11 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὸν μὲν λοιπὸν ὄχλον ἀπέπεμψεν ἐς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, Ἀνταιᾶ καὶ Φιλώτᾳ παραδοὺς διατηρεῖσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ ἄκρον ὑπερβαλὼν πρῶτος διὰ τοῦ Αἵμου ἐς Τριβαλλοὺς καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸν Λυγῖνον ποταμόν· ἀπέχει δὲ οὗτος ἀπὸ τοῦ

through without doing harm. And thus it happened, according to Alexander's orders and anticipation. The one lot parted their phalanx, and the carts sliding over the shields of the others did little harm; not one man perished beneath the carts. The Macedonians now took heart of grace, finding that those most dreaded chariots proved harmless, and raising their cheer charged the Thracians. Alexander sent for the archers from the right wing to the front of the other phalanx—this being the more convenient side—to shoot thence at the Thracians whenever they attacked. He himself took the shock-troops, the Foot Guards, and the Agrianes, and led them to the left, where the archers by their volleys held up any advances of the Thracians, and the phalanx had no grave difficulty, coming to close quarters, in driving from their position the lightly clad and ill-armed highlanders; who, in fact, did not await Alexander leading on his men from the left, but casting away their arms helter-skelter fled down the mountain side. Fifteen hundred perished; few were captured alive, by reason of their speed and their local knowledge; the women, however, who had followed them were all taken, with the children, and all their impedimenta.

II Alexander sent the booty to the rear, to the cities on the coast, appointing Lysanias and Philotas to deal with it, then himself crossing the ridge he marched through Haemus to the Triballians, and so arrived at the River Lyginus; as you approach

Ἴστρου ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Αἷμον ἰοῦσι σταθμοὶ τρεῖς
2 Σύρμος δὲ ὁ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν βασιλεὺς ἐς πολλοῦ
ποιησάμενος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν στόλον,
γυναῖκας μὲν καὶ παῖδας τῶν Τριβαλλῶν πρὸ-
πεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον, διαβαίνειν κελεύσας τὸν
ποταμὸν ἐς νῆσόν τινα τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἴστρῳ· Πεύκη
3 ὄνομα τῇ νήσῳ ἐστίν. Ἐς ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον
καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ προσχῶροι τοῖς Τριβαλλοῖς
προσαγόντες Ἀλεξάνδρου συμπεφευγότες ἦσαν,
καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Σύρμος ἐς ταύτην ξυμπεφευγὼς ξυν-
εῖχε ἀμφ' αὑτὸν τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν Τρι-
βαλλῶν ἔφυγεν ἐπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ἐνθυπερ
τῇ πρώτῃ καμούσῃ Ἀλεξάνδρου
4 Ὡς δὲ ἐμαθεν αὐτῶν τὴν ὁρμήν, καὶ αὐτὸς
ἐπεστράφη τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Τριβαλλούς
ἦγε, καὶ καταλαμβάνει κατεστρατοπεδευκότας
ἤδη. Καὶ οἱ μὲν, καταληφθέντες πρὸς τῇ νυκτὶ
τῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν παρετάσσοντο· Ἀλεξαν-
δρος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα ἐς βάθος
ἐτάξας ἐπῆγε, τοὺς τοξότας δὲ καὶ τοὺς
σφενδονήτας προσθέοντας ἐκέλευεν ἐκτοξεύειν
τε καὶ σφενδονᾶν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, εἴ πως
προσκαλέσεται αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ ψιλὸν ἐκ τοῦ νυκτός
5 Οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐντὸς βελῶν ἐγένοντο, πεσόντων ἐξαίφνης
ἐπὶ τοὺς τοξότας, ὅπως ἐς χεῖρας ξυμμίξειαν
γυμνοῖς αὐτοὶ τοῖς τοξόταις· Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ὡς
προηγγέλθη αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς νάπης ἔξω. Φίλωνα
μὲν ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν Μακεδονίας
ἵππους προστάξαι ἐμβάλλειν κατὰ τὸ κέρας τὸ
δεξιόν, ἤνπερ μάλιστα προὐκεχωρήκεσαν ἐν τῷ
διώγματι· Ἡρακλείδην δὲ καὶ Σωπόλιν τοὺς ἐκ
Βεττιναίας τε καὶ Ἀμφιπολέως ἵππους κατὰ τὸ
10

Haemus, it is three days' march from the Ister. Syrmus, King of the Triballians, learning some time before of Alexander's march, sent on the women and children to the Ister, ordering them to cross to an island in the river called Peuce. To this island the Thracians who are neighbours to the Triballians had fled on Alexander's approach, and Syrmus and his suite also, but the mass of the Triballians fled back to the river whence Alexander had started out the day before.

Hearing of their move, Alexander turned back to attack the Triballians, and found them already encamping. They, caught as they were, formed line near the glen by the river; but Alexander in person, throwing his phalanx into deep formation, led it against them, ordering the bowmen and slingers to skirmish ahead and discharge their arrows and stones upon the tribesmen, to see if he could entice them into the open from the glen. They, when in range, receiving these volleys, rushed forward upon the bowmen to come to grips with them, being unarmed as bowmen are. But Alexander having brought them out of the glen ordered Philotas to take the cavalry of upper Macedonia and charge their right wing, where they had advanced farthest in their outward rush. Heracleides and Sopolis he ordered to lead the cavalry from Bottiaea

8 εἰσιόντων εἴρας ἐπάγειν ἔταξε. Τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππον πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος παρατείνας κατὰ μέσους ἐτήγαγε. Καὶ ἦστε μὲν διαβολαίους παρ' ἑκατέρου ἦν· οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ οὐ μείους εἶχον· ὡς δὲ ἡ τε φάλαγξ πυκνὴ ἐπεβάλλετο τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἅρμασιν, καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς οὐκ ἀκοντισμῷ ἔτι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἵπποις ὠθοῦντες ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ προσέπιπτον, τότε δὴ ἀναπτήσας διὰ τοῦ πατοῦς ἐς τὸν πο-
9 ταμόν. Καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι μὲν τριακόσιοι ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, ζώντες δὲ ὀλίγοι καὶ τούτων ἐληφθησαν, ὅτι ὕλη τε δασεῖα πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἦν καὶ νὺξ ἐπιγενομένη τὴν ἀκριβείαν τῆς διώξεως ἀφεῖλετο τοὺς Μακεδόνας. Λυτῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων τελευτῶσι λόχοι Πτολεμαίου ἱππέως μὲν ἑπτὰ καὶ, πεζοὶ δὲ ἄμφι τοὺς τεσσαράκοντα.

III Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης τριταίοις ἀφικνεῖται Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἴστρον, ποταμῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην μέγιστον ὄντα καὶ πλωτὸν ἐς ἐπαρχόμενον καὶ ἔθνη μαχιμώτατα ἀνιέμενόν τε τὰ μὲν πολλὰ Κελτικά, ὅθεν γε καὶ οἱ πηγαὶ αὐτῷ ἀνίσχουσιν, ὧν τελευταίους
2 Κοσσαίους καὶ Μαρσομανοὺς· ἐπὶ δὲ Σαυροματῶν μοίραν, Ἰαζύγας· ἐπὶ δὲ Γέτας τοὺς ἀθανατίζοντας· ἐπὶ δὲ Σαυρομάτας τοὺς πολλούς· ἐπὶ δὲ Σαύβας ὧν τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀμάξας, ἵνα ἐκδιδοῖ κατὰ πέντε στόματα ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον
3 πόντον. Ἐνταῦθα καταλαμβάνει αὐτῷ ἡκούσας πάλαι μακρὰς ἐς Βυζάντιον διὰ τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν. Ταύτας ἐμπλήσας τοξοτῶν τε καὶ ὁπλιτῶν, τῇ νηὶ ἑπόμενοι ἵνα οἱ Τριβαλλοί τε καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες ξυμπεφεύγοτες

and Amphipolis against the left wing. The foot phalanx, and the remaining cavalry, which he deployed in advance of the phalanx, he led against the centre. While the battle was still at long range, the Triballians held firm, but when the phalanx in close formation charged them stoutly and the cavalry, no longer shooting, but actually thrusting them with their horses, fell on them here, there and everywhere, the enemy turned and rushed through the glen to the river. Three thousand perished in the flight, but only a few were caught alive, owing to the density of the wood which lay in front of the river, and because nightfall prevented the Macedonians from any thorough pursuit. Of the Macedonians, according to Ptolemy, eleven cavalry-men and about forty foot-soldiers perished.

III. Three days after the battle Alexander reached the Ister, the greatest river of Europe, draining the greatest tract of country and acting as a barrier to very warlike tribes, Celts for the most part—its springs rising in Celtic territory, the farthest of these peoples are the Quadi and Marcomanni; then it passes the Iazuges, a branch of the Sauromatae, the Getae, who call themselves immortals, the bulk of the Sauromatae, and the Scythians as far as the outlets, where through five mouths it runs into the Black Sea. There Alexander finds at the mouth of the river warships come to join him from Byzantium through the Black Sea. These he manned with archers and men-at-arms and sailed against the island where the Triballians and Thracians

ἦσαν, καὶ ἐπειρᾶτο διαζεύξας τὴν ἀπόβασιν.
6 Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀπήντων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὅπως μὴ νηες προσπεσοῦνται· αἱ δὲ ὁλκάδες τε ἦσαν καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ οὐ πολλὴ ἦ[1] ἐπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τῇ νήσῳ τὰ πολλὰ ἀπότομα ἐς προσβολήν, καὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ παρ' αὐτὴν, οἷα δὴ ἐς στενὸν συνηγμένον, ὀξύ τε καὶ ἄπορον προσφέρεσθαι.
8 Ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπαγαγὼν τὰς ναῦς ὅσῳ διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἴστρον ἐπὶ τοὺς Γέτας τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἴστρου φοιτῶντας, ὅτι τὰ συναλλάγματα ἐκ πολλοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἴστρου, ὡς εἰῴκασιν οἱ διαβαίνοντες ἦσαν γὰρ ἱππεῖς μὲν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, πεζοὶ δὲ πλείους τῶν μυρίων, καὶ ἅμα πόθος ἐλάβετο αὐτὸν ἐν' ἐκείνοις τοῦ
9 Ἴστρου ἐλθεῖν. Τῶν μὲν δὴ νεῶν ἐπειρᾶτο αὐτὸς τὰς διφθέρας ὑφ' αἷς ἐκάστην τῇ καρφῇ πληρώσας, καὶ ἅμα μονόξυλα πλοῖα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ξυναγαγών· ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτων εὐπορία πολλή, ὅτι τούτοις χρῶνται οἱ πρόσοικοι τῷ Ἴστρῳ ἐφ' ἁλιείᾳ τε τῇ ἐν τοῦ Ἴστρου, καὶ εἴωσιν παρ' ἀλλήλους ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ στέλλεσθαι, καὶ λῃστεύουσιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοί· ταῦτα οὖν πλοῖα ξυναγαγὼν διεβίβαζεν ἐν αὐτοῖς τῆς στρατιᾶς ὅσον δι νηῶν ἦν ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. Καὶ γίγνονται οἱ διαβάντες ἅμα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἱππεῖς μὲν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, πεζοὶ δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους.

IV Διεβάλλοντο δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ ἡ λήιον ἦν σίτου βαθὺ καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλόν τι ἐλάθον προσέχοντες τῇ ὄχθῃ. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διὰ τοῦ ληίου ἦγε, παραγγέλλας τοῖς πεζοῖς, πλαγίους

[1] ἦσαν Α, ἦσαν Κ; cf. v 17. 6. [2] ἦ add. Krüger.

had taken refuge, and endeavoured to force a landing. The tribesmen, however, kept swooping down to the river-side wherever the ships touched land; these were few in number, and carrying only a small body of troops; the island was for the most part steep for landing; and the current past the island, as was natural in the narrows, was swift and difficult to contend with.

Thereupon Alexander withdrew his troops and decided to cross the Ister to attack the Getae who were settled on the farther side, both because he saw a large force of them gathered on the bank, to repel him, should he cross – there were about four thousand mounted men, and more than ten thousand on foot—and also because he had been seized with a desire to land on the farther side. He himself embarked in the fleet; the leather tent covers he had filled with the hay, and gathering all the available boats, cut from single trees, from the country-side (there were plenty, for the river-side dwellers use them for fishing, for up-river expeditions among themselves, and even more for thieving), he ferried across on these as much of his force as was possible About fifteen hundred cavalry and four thousand foot-soldiers crossed with him.

IV. The crossing was made at night where there was a deep cornfield, and thus concealed them the more, as they kept close to the bank. About dawn, Alexander led the troops through the field, ordering

τοῖς παρίσασιν ἀνελίσσοντας τὸ εἶτος αὐτὸ
3 πρωτιστον δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐργάσιμα. Οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς,
ἕστε μὲν διὰ τοῦ λιμένος πρασιὴ ἡ φάλαγξ, ἐφε-
ποντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐργασίμων ἐξήλασαν, τὴν
μὲν ἵππον ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος
παρήγαγε, τὴν φάλαγγα δὲ ἐν πλαισίῳ Νικα-
4 νορι ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν. Καὶ οἱ Γέται οὐδὲ τὴν
πρώτην ἐμβολὴν τῶν ἱππέων ἐδέξαντο παρα-
δοξος μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ τόλμα ἐφάνη τοῦ
Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὅτε συμφορὰν οὕτω τὸν μεγίστου
τῶν ποταμῶν διαβήσεσθαι ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ τὸν
Ἴστρον, οὐ γνόντας τὸν πόρον, φοβερὰ δὲ
καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος ἡ ξυγκλεισις, βίαια δὲ ἡ τῶν
6 ἱππέων ἐμβολή. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς τὴν
πόλιν κατέφευγουσιν, ἡ δὲ ἀπεῖχεν αὐτοῦ ἔσον
παρασαγγην τοῦ Ἴστρου· ὡς δὲ ἐναγόντο εἶδον
αὐτοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα παρὰ τὸν
ποταμόν, ὡς μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν σφι οἱ πεζοὶ ἐναπο-
κλείσαντες τῶν Γετῶν, τοὺς ἱππέας δὲ κατὰ μέτω-
πον, λαυρουσιν αὖ καὶ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Γέται κακῶς
τετειχισμένην, ἀναλαβόντες τῶν παίδων καὶ
τῶν γυναικῶν ὅσοι τοὺς ἵππους ἔσαν φέρειν οἱ
ἵπποι ἡδύναντο· ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ ὁρμὴ ὡς παρρω-
8 τατω ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς τὰ ὄρη. Ἀλέξαν-
δρος δὲ τὴν τε πόλιν λαμβάνει καὶ τὴν λείαν
πᾶσαν ὅσην οἱ Γέται ὑπέλιπον τε. Καὶ τὸν μὲν
λιμένα Μίλητον καὶ Φίλιππον ἀπωνόμασεν
διδοὺς αὐτοῖς· αὐτὸς δὲ κατασκάψας τὴν πόλιν θύει
τε ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἴστρου Διὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ
Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἴστρῳ, ὅτι οἱ ἄπορον
αὐτὸν ἤγαγετο, καὶ ἀναγει αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν
συμπαντας ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

the infantry to smooth down the corn with their spears, held obliquely, and so lead the way to untilled ground. As long as the phalanx was marching through the corn the cavalry followed, but when they emerged from the tilled land Alexander in person took off the cavalry to the right wing, ordering Nicanor to lead off the phalanx in oblong formation.[1] The Getae did not sustain even the first charge of the cavalry, for Alexander's bold stroke came as a great shock to them in that he so easily crossed the Ister, greatest of rivers, in one night without so much as bridging the stream, the mobility of the phalanx was terrifying, and the one aught of the cavalry violent. First the enemy took refuge in the city, about a parasang away from the Ister, then, seeing Alexander bring up his phalanx along the river (that the infantry might not be caught by any ambush of the Getae, with the cavalry on the front) the enemy deserted in turn their city, which was feebly fortified, taking up on their cripples as many of the women and children as the horses could carry, and then marched as far as possible away from the river towards the desert. Alexander captured the city and whatever plunder the Getae had left behind. This plunder he ordered Menander and Philip to take to the base, he raised the city and sacrificed on the bank of the Ister to Zeus the Preserver and Heracles and Ister himself, for permitting the passage. Then in daylight he took all his force safe and sound back to the camp.

[1] On open ground the various units formed squares, and the whole phalanx would have either an oblong or rectangular shape, broader than it was deep. See Introductory Note.

4 Ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκοντο πρεσβεῖαι τε Ἀλεξάνδρου παρά τε τῶν ἄλλων ἐκ αὐτονόμα ἐθνῶν προσοικεῖ τῷ Ἴστρῳ, καὶ παρὰ Σύρμου τοῦ Τριβαλλῶν βασιλέως· καὶ παρὰ Κελτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ ἱδρυμένων ἦσαν· μεγάλοι γὰρ οἱ Κελτοὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ μέγα τι φρονοῦντες· φίλους δὲ πάντες τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφίκοντο ἥκειν ἔφασαν. 5 Καὶ τῶνδε ἕνεκα πίστεως Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Ὅπλα τῶν Κελτῶν δὲ καὶ ἤρετο ὁ τι μάλιστα δεδιττόμενοι αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ὅπλων ὅτι μέγα ἐνόμιζε τὸ αἰτοῦ καὶ τὸ Κελτῶν καὶ ὅτι προθυμότερον ἦσαν καὶ ὅτι αὐτῶν μάλιστα πάντων δεδιέναι φήσουσι· τῷ δὲ μέγα ὅπλον ξυνέβη τὸν Κελτῶν ἡ ἀσπὶς εἶα· 6 οἷα γὰρ πολλὰ τὰ φάσματα Ἀλεξανδρου καὶ χωρὶς διὸ πολλὰ οἰκοῦντες, καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου δὴ ἄλλα τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐρῶντος, ἔφασαν δεδιέναι μήποτε ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι. Καὶ τούτους φίλους τε ἐνόμισεν καὶ ξυμμάχους ποιησάμενος ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψε, τοσοῦτον ὑπιδὼν ὅτι ἀλαζόνες Κελτοὶ εἰσιν.

V Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπ' Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ Παιόνων πρὸς ἔχωρει. Ἔνθα δὴ ἄγγελοι ἀφικνοῦνται αὐτῷ Κλείτου τε τοῦ Βαρδύλου ἀφεστῶτος ἀγγέλλοντες καὶ Γλαυκίαν προσεχωρηκότα αὐτῷ τὸν Ταυλαντίων βασιλέα· οἳ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Αὐτариάτας ἐπιθησόμενα αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ἐξαγγέλλουσιν· δὴ δοκεῖ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἰέναι ἀναζευγνύοντας. 8 Λαγγαρὸς δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀγριάνων βασιλεὺς ἔτι μὲν καὶ Φιλίππου ζῶντος ἀσπάζοιτο Ἀλεξάνδρου δῆλος ἦν καὶ ἰδιᾳ ἐπρεσβεύετο παρ' αὐτόν, τότε δὲ παρὼν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἱππασίμων, ὅσους

At this juncture came commissioners to Alexander from the other self-governing tribes along the Ister and from Syrmus, King of the Triballi, others from the Celts settled on the Ionian gulf. The Celts were tall and haughty; but all professed desire for Alexander's friendship, and he gave to all, and received from all, proper assurances. Of the Celts he enquired what, of mortal things, they most dreaded, hoping that his own great name had reached as far as the Celts and farther, and that they would confess that they dreaded him beyond all else. Their answer, however, proved unexpected to him, for, living as they did in difficult country far from Alexander, and seeing that his invasion was really directed elsewhere, they said that their greatest dread was lest the sky should fall upon them. He declared them his friends, made alliance, and sent them home, casually remarking, "What braggarts these Celts are!"

V He then went towards the Agrianes and the Paeones. There a message reached him that Cleitus son of Bardylis was in revolt, and that Glaucias, king of the Taulantians, had joined him. The messengers also told him that the Autariates were going to attack him on his march. For these reasons it was thought well to move off as soon as possible. Langarus, king of the Agrianes, was known to have shown regard for Alexander even in Philip's lifetime; he had also been on an embassy to him personally, on the present occasion he was in attendance on Alexander with his bodyguard, the

τε καλλίστους καὶ εὐοπλοτάτους ἀμφ' αὐτὸν
3 εἶχε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθον ὑπὲρ τῶν Λυταριατῶν πυνθανομένου Ἀλεξάνδρου, οἵτινές τε καὶ ὁπόσοι εἶεν, οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι ἐν λόγῳ τίθεσθαι Λυταριάτας· εἶναι γὰρ ἀπολεμωτάτους τῶν ταύτῃ· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀμφὶ τὰ σφέτερα μᾶλλόν τι ἔχοιεν. Καὶ ἐπελαύνοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ
4 ἐμβαλὼν ἦγε καὶ ἔφερε τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν.
Λυταριᾶται μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ τὰ αὐτῶν εἶχον· Λάγγαροι δὲ τά τε ἄλλα ἐτιμήθη μεγάλως πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ δῶρα Πλάτων ἔδωκε μεγιστα παρὰ βασιλεῖ τῷ Μακεδόνων νομίζεται καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου Κυνναν καὶ ταύτην ὡμολόγησε δώσειν αὐτῷ ἐς Ἕλλαν ἀφικομένῳ
5 Ἀλέξανδρος.
Ἀλλὰ Λάγγαροι μὲν ἐπανελθὼν οἴκαδε νόσῳ ἐτελεύτησεν· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ἐριγόνα ποταμὸν πορευόμενος ἐς Πηλιον πολιν ἐστελλετο. Ταύτην γὰρ κατειλήφει ὁ Κλεῖτος ὡς ἐχυρωτάτην τῆς χώρας· καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ὡς ἦειν Ἀλέξανδρος, καταστρατοπεδεύσασι πρὸς τῷ Ἐορδαικῷ ποταμῷ, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἤγγελλε προσ-
6 βαλλειν τῷ τειχει. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τον Κλεῖτον τὰ κυκλῳ τῆς πολιος ὄρη, ὑπερβεξιά τε ὄντα καὶ ἄβατα, κατεῖχον, ὡς πάντοθεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς Μακεδόσιν, εἰ τῇ πολει προσβάλλοιεν. Γλαυκίας δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Ταυλαντιων βασιλευ-
7 ὁντα παρῆν. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν δὴ τῇ πολει προσῆγεν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐφαγιασάμενοι παῖδας τρεῖς καὶ κόρας ἴσας τον ἀριθμον καὶ κριοὺς μέλανας τρεῖς, ἅρμητο μὲν ὡς δεξομενοι ἐς

finest and best-armed troops he had; and when he learnt that Alexander was enquiring who and in what numbers these Autariates were, he told Alexander that he need not trouble about them, they were the least warlike of the tribesmen in those parts, he would himself invade their country, so that they might rather be occupied with their own affairs. Alexander agreed, and he invaded them, devastating their country.

Thus the Autariates were busy with their own matters. Langaros receiving high honour from Alexander, and also what were considered at the court of Macedon the highest gifts. Alexander besides promised to wed his sister Cyna to him, when he came to Pella.

Langaros, however, after reaching home, sickened and died. Alexander, marching along the river Erigon, made for Pelium, this city Cleitus had taken, as being the strongest in the country. When Alexander reached it, he camped by the river Eordaicus and decided to assault next day. Cleitus' forces, however, held the heights surrounding the city, which were commanding and also thickly wooded, so that they could attack the Macedonians, if they made the assault, from all sides, Glaucias, king of the Taulantians, not yet being present. Alexander proceeded to the assault; on which the enemy sacrificed three boys and three girls and three black rams, and then made a rush to intercept

χείρας των Μακεδόνων· ἐμοῦ δὲ τοξοτῶν ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ἀκοντιστῶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ πεντακόσια ἔνθα τὰ κατειλημμένα πρὸς σφῶν χωρία. ὧδε καὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν κατειλήφθη ἔτι ἐπείσω.

5 Ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατασκήσαντες αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι πρὸς τῷ τείχει ὑφ' ὅπλοις περιτειχίσματι ἀσφαλίσασθαι αὐτοὺς τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ περὶ μετὰ πόλλης δυνάμεως Γλαυκίας ὁ τῶν Ταυλαντίων βασιλεὺς ἦλθε· ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἄσπονδον ἔλειν ἔδοξεν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει, πολλῶν μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ μαχίμων ξυμπεφευγότων, πολλῶν δὲ ἅμα τῷ Γλαυκίᾳ προσκεκομικότων, εἰ αὐτοὶ τῷ τείχει
8 προσμαχοῖντο. Φίλωνα δὲ ἀναλαβόντα τῶν ἑπτῶν ἵππων ἃς προφύλακας καὶ τὰ ἐπόζυγα τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐς ἀντιστομὰς ἐπεμπεν. Καὶ ὁ Γλαυκίας μαθὼν τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν ἀμφὶ Φίλωνα ἐξελαύνει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ καταλαμβάνει τὰ ἀνάλωτα ὄρη τοῦ πεδίου ὧδε οἱ ξὺν Φίλωνι
10 ἀντιστῆναι ἔμελλον. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπηγγέλθη αὐτῷ ὅτι κινδυνεύουσιν οἵ τε ἵπποις καὶ τὰ ἐπόζυγα, οἱ ξὺν αὐτοῖς καταληφθέντες, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ ἵππους ἐς τετρακοσίους ἐβοήθει σπουδῇ· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα στράτευμα πρὸς τῇ πόλει ἀνέλιττεν, ὡς μὴ ἀποχωρησάντων πάντων τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιθοῦντο τοῖς ἀμφὶ Γλαυκίαν
11 ξυμμίξασιν. Ἔνθα δὴ Γλαυκίας προσέχοντα Ἀλεξάνδρου αἰσθόμενος ἐλαύνει τὰ ὄρη· οἱ δὲ ξὺν Φίλωνι ἀσφαλῶς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατοπέδευμα διεσώθησαν. Ἐδόκουν δ' ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ὧν ἐπι-

the Macedonian right wing; but when the Greeks drew near, they deserted the strong positions they had occupied, and the newly sacrificed victims were found still lying there.

On this day Alexander shut them up in their city and camped by the wall, intending to hem them in by a circumvallation, but next day Glaucias, king of the Taulantians, appeared with a large force. Thereupon Alexander gave up the idea of taking the city with such forces as he had; a good many bold warriors had ensconced themselves therein, and Glaucias' strong force would fall upon him, should he assault the wall. He sent Philotas, therefore, with so many horsemen as he needed as a screen, and all the baggage animals from the camp, to forage. Glaucias getting wind of this move of Philotas swooped down on his troops, and captured the heights which encircled the plain whence Philotas' troops proposed to obtain their forage. Alexander, however, when it was reported to him that both the cavalry and the baggage animals were in grave danger, should night overtake them, took his bodyguard and archers and the Agrianes and four hundred horsemen and made at full speed to the rescue, the rest of the army he left near the city lest—if the whole force had withdrawn—the enemy in the city might have sallied out and joined forces with Glaucias. Glaucias, on seeing Alexander's approach, deserted the heights, and Philotas and his convoy got safe back to the camp. Even so Cleitus and Glaucias

χωρία ἀπειληφέναι οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κλεῖτον καὶ Γλαυκίαν· τά τε γὰρ ὄρη τὰ ὑπερβεξια κατεῖχον πολλοῖς μὲν ἱππεῦσι, πολλοῖς δὲ ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ σφενδονήταις, καὶ ὁπλίταις δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγοις, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει κατειλημμένοι προσεισεσθαι ἀπαλ-
13 λαττομένους ἔμελλον· τά τε χωρία δι' ὧν ἡ παροδος ἦν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στενὰ καὶ ὑλώδη ἐφαίνετο, τῇ μὲν πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπειργομένα, τῇ δὲ ὄρος ὑπερύψηλον ἦν καὶ κρημνοὶ πρὸς τοῦ ὄρους, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τεσσάρων ἀσπίδων ἦν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡ παροδος ἐγένετο.

VI. Ἔνθα δὴ ἐκτάσαι τὸν στρατὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι τὸ βάθος τῆς φαλαγγος. Ἐπὶ τὸ κέρας δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν διακοσίους ἱππέας ἐπιταξας παραγγελλα συνῃ ἔχειν,
2 τὸ παραγγελλόμενον ὀξέως δεχομένους. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐσημήνατο ὀρθὰ ἀνατείναι τὰ δόρατα τοὺς ὁπλίτας, ἔπειτα ἀπο ξυνθήματος ἀποτείναι ἐς προβολήν, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐς τὸ δεξιὸν ἐγκλίναι τῶν δοράτων τὴν σύγκλισιν, αὖθις δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερα. Καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν φαλαγγα ἐς τε πρόσω ὀξέως ἐκίνησε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα ἄλλοτε
3 ἄλλῃ παρηγαγε. Καὶ οὕτω πολλὰς ταξεις ταξας τε καὶ μετακοσμήσας ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, κατα τὸ εὐσύνοπτον οἷον ἐμβολον ποιησας τῆς φαλαγγος ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. Οἱ δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐθαυμαζον τήν τε ὀξυτητα ὁρῶντες καὶ τὸν κοσμον τῶν δρωμένων· τότε δὲ προσαγοντας ἤδη τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ λείπουσι τοὺς
4 πρώτους λόφους. Ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐπαλαλαξαι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τοῖς δορασι δουπῆσαι πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας· οἱ δὲ Ταυλάντιοι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκπλα-

with their troops appeared to have caught Alexander in a disadvantageous position; for they held the commanding heights with a good many horsemen, javelin-men, and slingers, and a fair number of men-at-arms, and the city forces were ready to attack Alexander as he drew off, while the ground through which Alexander must pass seemed narrow and marshy, bounded on the one side by the river, and on the other side was a lofty mountain and hill-crests towards the mountain, so that the army could only pass through four abreast

VI Alexander under the circumstances extended the front of his phalanx so as to give a depth of 120 files. On either wing he posted 200 horsemen, bidding them keep silent, a command they obeyed smartly; the men-at-arms he ordered first to raise their spears upright, and then, on the word, to lower them for a charge, inclining first to the right their serried points, then to the left; the phalanx itself he moved smartly forward, and then wheeled it here and there on either wing. Thus he displayed and manœuvred various formations in a brief time, and then making a spearhead from his phalanx on the left he led it to the attack. The enemy, already bewildered both at the smartness and the discipline of these manœuvres, did not await the approach of the Greeks, but deserted the first row of hills. Alexander bade the Macedonians raise their cheer and clang their spears upon their shields, and the

γόντες πρὸς τῆς βοῆς ὡς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀνανήγαγον σπουδῇ τὸν στρατόν.

6 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ λόφον τινὰ κατέχοντας ἰδὼν οὐ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων, παρ' ὃν αὐτῷ ἡ πορεία ἐγίγνετο, παρήγγειλε τοῖς σωματοφύλαξι καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταίροις, ἀναλαβόντας τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον· ἐκεῖσε δὲ ἐλθόντας, εἰ ὑπομένοιεν οἱ κατειληφότες τὸ χωρίον, τοὺς ἡμίσεας καταπηδῆσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἀναμιχ-
6 θέντας τοῖς ἱππεῦσι πεζοὺς μαχέσθαι. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἰδόντες λείπουσι τὸν λόφον καὶ παρεκαλινδοῦσιν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τῶν ὀρῶν. Ἔνθα δὴ καταλαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν λόφον σὺν τοῖς ἑταίροις τούτῳ τε Ἀγριᾶνα μεταπέμπεται καὶ τοὺς τοξότας, ὄντας ἐς δισχιλίους· τοὺς δὲ ὑπασπιστὰς διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰς τάξεις τῶν Μακεδόνων· ἔστι δὲ διαβαντες τύχοιεν, ἐπ' ἀσπίδα ἐκτασσεσθαι, ὡς συχνὴν σίδυν διαβαντων φαινεσθαι τὴν φαλαγγα· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν προφυλακῇ ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου ἀφεωρα τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ὁρμήν.
7 Οἱ δέ, ὁρῶντες διαβαινουσαν τὴν δυναμιν, κατὰ τὰ ὄρη ἀντεπῆσαν, ὡς τοῖς μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπιθησόμενοι τελευταίοις ἀποχωροῦσιν. Ὁ δὲ πελαζοντων ἤδη αὐτὸς ἐκθεῖ σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν, καὶ ἡ φαλαγξ, ὡς διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπειοῦσα, ἐπηλάλαξεν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι πάντων ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλαυνόντων ἐγκλίναντες ἔφευγον· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπῆγεν Ἀλέξανδρος τούς τε Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς
9 τοξότας δρόμῳ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. Καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν αὐτὸς φθάσας διαβαίνει τοῖς τελευ-

Taulantians, even more astounded at the noise, hastily withdrew to the city.

Alexander saw some few of the enemy holding one of the hills, by which his passage lay, and ordered his bodyguards and his squires to take their shields, mount, and charge the hill; on reaching it, supposing those who held it should stand their ground, half were to dismount and, mingling with the cavalry, fight on foot. The enemy, observing this dash of Alexander's, deserted the hill and inclined towards either of the mountains. Alexander then captured the hill with his squires, sent for the Agrianes and the archers, to the number of two thousand, the guards he ordered to cross the river, and, following them, the columns of the Macedonian troops. As soon as they should be across they were to extend to the left,[1] so that the phalanx might appear solid the moment they had crossed. He, with the advance guard, kept an eye from the hill on the enemy's movement. They, seeing the force crossing, charged down the hill with the idea of attacking Alexander's bodyguard as they withdrew last. He, as they now approached, makes a sally with his troops, and the phalanx coming to the attack through the river raised its battle-cry, under this combined onslaught they broke and fled whereupon Alexander brought up the Agrianes and the archers at the double in the direction of the river. He himself got over first,

[1] Literally, shield wards, that is, to the left hand, as "spear-wards" was to the right hand.

ταίους δὲ ὡς εἶδεν ἐπεισπίπτοντας τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀναστήσας ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐξακοντίζειν ὡς τορωτάτω ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν ὅσα ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βέλη ἐξακοντίζεται· καὶ τοὺς τοξότας δὲ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐστοξεύειν ἐπεσβαίνοντας καὶ τούτους. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Γλαυκίαν εἶσαν βέλους παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμων· οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπέρασαν τὸν ποταμόν, ὥστε οὐδεὶς ἀνέθανεν ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει αὐτῶν.

9 Τρίτῃ δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρᾳ πανημαθὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καλῶς αὐλιζομένους τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κλεῖτον καὶ Γλαυκίαν, καὶ οὔτε φυλακὰς ἐν τῇ τάξει αὐτοῖς φυλαττομένας οὔτε χαράκωμα ἢ τάφρον προβεβλημένον, εἰκάσας δὴ ξὺν φόβῳ ἀπηλλάχθαι οἰομένους Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπεὶ μήκιστ' δὲ εἶχεν ὠφελίμως ἀναστεταγμένην αὐτοῖς τὴν τάξιν, ὑπὸ νυκτὸς ἔτι λαθὼν διαβαίνει τὸν ποταμόν, τούς τε ὑπασπιστὰς ἅμα οἱ ἄγων καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου 10 καὶ Κοίνου τάξιν. Καὶ προεστάλτο μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν· ὡς δὲ καιρὸν εἶδεν εἰς ἐπίθεσιν, αὐ προσμεῖναι ὁμοῦ γενέσθαι πάντας, ἐφῆκε τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας· οἱ δὲ ἀπροσδοκήτοις τε ἐπιπεσόντες καὶ φάλαγγι κατὰ κέρας, ἧττον δεδεικόσι τούτοις καρτερωτάτῃ τῇ ἐμβολῇ προσμίξειν ἔμελλον, τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς κατέπεφνον, τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας εὐμαρῶς αἱροῦντας, ὥστε πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐγκατελήφθησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει ἀτάκτῳ καὶ φοβερᾷ γενομένῃ· οὐκ 11 ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἐλήφθησαν. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ

but seeing the enemy pressing on the hindmost, he set up his engines on the bank and ordered every kind of missile to be discharged from them at utmost range; what is more, he commanded the archers, in mid-river, to shoot volleys thence, they too having breasted the stream. Glaucias' troops did not venture within range; the Macedonians meanwhile crossed the river safely and lost not a man in the withdrawal.

Three days later Alexander learned that Cleitus and Glaucias' troops were carelessly bivouacked, no sentries set in due order, no palisade, no trench—for they thought that Alexander had retreated in panic—and their line unduly elongated; he crossed the river under cover of night with the guards, the Agrianes, the archers, and the troops of Perdiccas and Coenus. He had left orders for the rest of the army to follow, but seeing the time opportune for attack, he did not await the concentration, but sent on all the archers and the Agrianes, they made a surprise attack, and in column, a formation in which they were likely to make the strongest onslaught on the enemy just where he was weakest; they slew several as they slept, easily seized the fugitives, so that many were caught and killed there and then, and many also in their panic-stricken and headlong flight, a good number were taken alive. Alexander's

δίωξις τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μέχρι πρὸς τὰ ὄρη τῶν Ταυλαντίων· ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἀπέφυγον αὐτῶν, γυμνοὶ τῶν ὅπλων διεσώθησαν. Κλεῖτος δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὸ πρῶτον καταφυγών, ἐμπρήσας τὴν πόλιν ἀπῆλλαγη παρὰ Γλαυκίαν ἐς Ταυλαντίους.

VII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν φυγάδων τινὲς τῶν ἐκ Θηβῶν φευγόντων νύκτωρ ἐς τὰς Θήβας παρελθόντες, ἐπαγομένων τινῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, Ἀμύνταν μὲν καὶ Τιμόλαον τῶν τὴν Καδμείαν ἐχόντων οὐδὲν ὑποτοπήσαντας πολέμιον 2 ἔξω τῆς Καδμείας ἀπεκτειναν ξυλλαβόντες· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρελθόντες ἐπῆραν τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐλευθερίαν τε[1] προίσχομενοι, παλαιὰ καὶ καλὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἤδη ποτὲ ἀπαλλαγήναι. Πιθανώτεροι δὲ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐφαίνοντο, τεθνηκέναι Ἀλέξανδρον ἰσχυριζόμενοι ἐν 3 Ἰλλυριοῖς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ πολὺς ὁ λόγος οὗτος καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν ἐφοίτα, ὅτι τε χρόνον ἀπὴν οὐκ ὀλίγον καὶ ὅτι οὐδαμόθεν ἄγγελια παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀφίκετο, ὥστε, ὅπερ φιλεῖ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, οὐ γινωσκοντες τὰ ὄντα τὰ μάλιστα καθ' ἡδονὴν σφίσιν εἶναι ἔλαζον.

4 Πυθομένῳ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων οὐδαμῶς ἔδοκει ἀμελητέα εἶναι, τήν τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολιν δι' ὑποψίας ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔχοντι καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ τόλμημα οὐ φαῦλον ποιουμένῳ, εἰ Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε πάλαι ἤδη ταῖς γνώμαις ἀφεστηκότες καὶ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ οὐ βέβαιοι ὄντες

[1] Krüger adds, with probability, καὶ παρρησίαν.

company pursued to the mountains of the Taulantians; those who did escape, only escaped by jettison of their arms. Cleitus, who at first took to the city, set fire to it and fled to Glaucias among the Taulantians.

VII. Meanwhile some of the fugitives from Thebes slipped into Thebes by night—certain persons inviting them with a view to a rising—seized from the city Amyntas and Timolaus from among the force occupying the Cadmeia (having no suspicion of hostile movement outside) and slew them. Then appearing in the Assembly they incited the Thebans to rebel against Alexander, holding out the lures of freedom [and liberty of speech]—time-honoured and attractive titles—and the shaking off—at long last—of Macedon's heavy yoke. They won additional adherence from the populace by stoutly affirming that Alexander had died in Illyria: this was common talk, and from various sources; he had been long away and no word had come from him, so that, in ignorance of hard fact, they conjectured (as so often happens) what they most desired.

Alexander hearing of what occurred at Thebes took things seriously; for he had long had his suspicions about Athens, and was much concerned about the Theban attempt, should the infection of revolt spread to the Lacedaemonians (already rebels at heart) and other Peloponnesians, to say nothing

συνεπιλήψονται τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ τοῖς Θηβαίοις.
5 Ἄγων δὴ παρὰ τὴν Ἐορδαίαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἐλιμιώτιν καὶ παρὰ τὰ τῆς Στυμφαίας καὶ Παραυαίας ἄκρα, ἑβδομαίοις ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Πελλίνην τῆς Θετταλίας. Ἔνθεν δὲ ὁρμηθεὶς ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ὥστε οὐ πρόσθεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἔμαθον εἶναι Πυλῶν παραλελυθότα αὐτόν, πρὶν ἐν Ὀγχηστῷ γενέσθαι
6 ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ. Καὶ τοτε δὲ οἱ πραξαντες τὴν ἀπόστασιν στράτευμα ἐκ Μακεδονίας Ἀντιπάτρου ἀφῖχθαι ἔφασκον, αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον τεθνάναι διεσχυρίζοντο, καὶ τοῖς ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὅτι οὗτος αὐτος προσάγει Ἀλεξανδρος χαλεπῶς εἶχον· ἄλλον γάρ τινα ἤκειν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Ἀερόπου.
7 Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξ Ὀγχηστοῦ ἅρας τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προσῆγε πρὸς τὴν πολιν τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Ἰολαου τέμενος· οὐ δὴ καὶ ἐστρατοπεδευσαν, ἐνδιδοὺς ἔτι τοῖς Θηβαίοις τριβην, εἰ μεταγνοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς κακῶς ἐγνωσμενοις
8 πρεσβευσαιντο παρ' αὐτόν. Οἱ δὲ τοσούτου ἐδησαν ἐνδοσιμόν τι παρασχεῖν ἐς ξύμβασιν, ὥστ' ἐκθεοντες ἐκ τῆς πολεως οἵ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠκροβολιζοντο ἐς τὰς προφυλακάς, καί τινας καὶ
9 ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλοὺς τῶν Μακεδονων. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκπέμπει τῶν ψιλῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν, ὥστ' αὐτῶν ἀναστεῖλαι τὴν ἐκδρομήν· καὶ οὗτοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνεστειλαν, ἤδη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτῷ προσφερομενους. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν καὶ περιελθων κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς φερούσας ἐπ' Ἐλευθεράς τε καὶ

of the Aetolians, themselves also unreliable. He marches, therefore, along Eordaea and Elimiotis, past the heights of Stymphaea and Paravaea, and on the seventh day reaches Pelinna in Thessaly. Thence in six days he entered Boeotia, so that the Thebans did not learn of his passage of the Gates until his arrival, with all his force, at Onchestus. Thereupon those who had brought about the revolt said that a force of Antipater had come from Macedon, and confidently affirmed Alexander's death, getting annoyed at any who reported Alexander's actual presence at the head of his men. it was, said they, another Alexander, son of Aeropus.

Alexander leaving Onchestus next day reached Thebes, near the enclosure of Iolaus, there he encamped, giving the Thebans a period of grace, in case they should repent and send an embassy to him. They were far from showing any humility that might lead to an agreement; nay, the horsemen and several light troops sallied out towards the camp and discharged long-range volleys at the outposts, even killing a few of the Macedonians. Alexander sent out some of his light troops and archers to hold up their sally; they easily checked the Thebans, who by now were actually approaching the camp. Next day Alexander moved his whole force and came round to the gates leading to Eleu-

τὴν Ἀττικήν, οὐδὲ τότε προσέμιξε τοῖς τείχεσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐστρατοπεδευσεν οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχων τῆς Καδμείας, ὥστ' ἐγγὺς εἶναι ὠφέλειαν τῶν
10 Μακεδόνων τοῖς τὴν Καδμείαν ἔχουσιν. Οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι τὴν Καδμείαν διπλῷ χάρακι ἐφρούρουν ἀποτειχίσαντες ὡς μήτε ἔξωθέν τινα τοὺς ἐγκατειλημμένους δύνασθαι ὠφελεῖν, μήτε αὐτοὺς ἐκθέοντας βλάπτειν τι αφας, ὁπότε τοῖς ἔξω πολεμοις προσφέροιντο. Ἀλεξανδρος δέ (ἔτι γὰρ τοῖς Θηβαιοις διὰ φιλίας ἐλθεῖν μᾶλλον τι ἢ διὰ κινδύνου ἤθελε) διέτριβε προς τῇ Καδμειᾳ
11 κατεστρατοπεδευκώς. Ἐνθα δὴ τῶν Θηβαιων οἱ μὲν τὰ βέλτιστα ἐς το κοινον γιγνωσκοντες ἐξελθεῖν ὥρμηντο παρ' Ἀλεξανδρου και εὑρεσθαι συγγνώμην τῷ πληθει τῶν Θηβαιων τῆς ἀποστάσεως· οἱ φυγαδες δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοὺς φυγαδας ἐπικεκλημένοι ἦσαν, οὐδενος φιλανθρωπου τυχεῖν ἂν παρ' Ἀλεξανδρου ἀξιοῦντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ βουταρχοῦντες ἦσαν αὐτῶν, παντάπασιν ἐνῆγον το πλῆθος ἐς τὸν πολεμον. Ἀλεξανδρος δὲ οὐδ' ὣς τῇ πολει προσέβαλεν.

VIII. Ἀλλὰ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ὅτι Περδίκκας, προτεταγμενος τῆς φυλακῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου συν τῇ αὐτοῦ ταξει και τοῦ χαρακος τῶν πολεμίων οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκως, οὐ προσμεινας παρ' Ἀλεξανδρου τὸ ἐς την μάχην ξυνθημα, αὐτὸς πρῶτος προσέμιξε τῷ χαρακι και διασπασας αὐτον ἐνεβαλεν ἐς τῶν Θηβαιων τὴν προφυ-
2 λακην. Τουτῳ δὲ ἑπόμενοι Ἀμυντας ὁ Ἀνδρομενους, ὅτι καὶ ξυντεταγμενος τῷ Περδίκκᾳ ἦν, ἐσηγαγε καὶ αὐτος την αὐτοῦ ταξιν, ὡς εἶδε τὸν Περδίκκαν προεληλυθοτα ἔσω τοῦ χάρακος.

therae and Attica, and yet even then did not assault the walls, but pitched camp not far from the Cadmeia, so that support was close at hand for the Macedonians who held the Cadmeia. For the Thebans were investing the Cadmeia, having built a double stockade, so that no one from without could help those invested within, nor they sally out and harm the Thebans when in touch with their enemies without. But Alexander—for he still hoped to be friend, not foe, to Thebes—waited, encamped near the citadel. Then the more public-spirited citizens of Thebes were anxious to go forth to Alexander and win pardon for the Theban people as a whole for their revolt; but the exiles and those who had called them in would not condescend to receive any kindness from Alexander, especially as some of them were officers of the Confederacy of Boeotia; they therefore sought in all ways to urge their countrymen to war. Yet even so Alexander did not attack.

VIII Ptolemy son of Lagus, however, says that Perdiccas, who was officer in charge of the camp guard with his own detachment and lay not far from the enemy palisade, did not await Alexander's signal for battle, but himself first attacked the palisade and tearing it asunder broke in upon the Theban advance guard. Amyntas son of Andromenes followed, being brigaded with Perdiccas, and led on his detachment so soon as he saw Perdiccas advanced within the palisade. Then Alexander,

Ταῦτα δὲ ἰδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς μὴ μονοι ἀπολη-
φθέντες πρὸς τῶν Θηβαίων κινδυνεύσειαν,
2 ἐπῆγε τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοξό-
τας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας ἐκδραμεῖν ἐσημήνατο ἔξω
τοῦ χάρακος τὰ δὲ ἄγημα καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς
ἔτι ἔξω κατεῖχεν. Ἔνθα δὴ Περδίκκας μὲν τοῦ
δευτέρου χάρακος ἔξω παρελθεῖν βιαζομένους
αὐτοὺς μὲν βληθεὶς πίπτει αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀποκο-
μίζεται κακῶς ἔχων ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ
χαλεπῶς διασωθῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος τοῦτον μέντοι
Θηβαίους ἐς τὴν κοίλην ὁδὸν τὴν κατὰ τὸ
Ἡράκλειον φέρουσαν οἱ ἅμα αὐτῷ ἐσπεσόντες
ὁμοῦ τοῖς παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοξόταις συνέκλεισαν.
4 Καὶ ἔστε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἀναχωροῦσιν,
εἵποντο τοῖς Θηβαίοις· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπιστρε-
ψάντων αὐθις σὺν βοῇ τῶν Θηβαίων, φυγὴ τῶν
Μακεδόνων γίγνεται· καὶ Εὐρυβώτας τε ὁ Κρὴς
πίπτει ὁ τοξάρχης καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐς
ἑβδομήκοντα· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατέφυγον πρὸς τὸ
ἄγημα τό τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς
5 τοὺς βασιλικούς. Καὶ τοῦτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς
μὲν αὐτοῦ φεύγοντας κατιδὼν, τοὺς Θηβαίους δὲ
λελυκότας ἐν τῇ διωξει τὴν τάξιν, ἐμβάλλει
ἐς αὐτοὺς συντεταγμένῃ τῇ φαλαγγι· οἱ δὲ
ὠθοῦσι τοὺς Θηβαίους εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τοῖς
Θηβαίοις ἐς τοσοῦτο φοβερὰ ἡ φυγὴ ἐγίγνετο,
ὥστε διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ὠθουμένοις ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ
ἐφθησαν συγκλεῖσαι τὰς πύλας· ἀλλὰ συνεισ-
πίπτουσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἴσω τοῦ τείχους ὅσοι τῶν
Μακεδόνων ἐγγὺς φευγόντων εἵχοντο, ἅτε καὶ
τῶν τειχῶν διὰ τὰς προφυλακὰς τὰς πολλὰς
6 ἐρήμων ὄντων. Καὶ παρελθόντες οὐ τὴν

seeing this, so that they might not be stranded and so at the mercy of the Thebans, brought up the rest of the army. The archers and the Agrianes he ordered to make a diversion inside the palisade; but he still retained his shock troops and his guard outside. Then Perdiccas, trying to force his way into the second palisade, was wounded and lay where he fell; he was borne off, in sorry plight, to the camp and only with difficulty was healed of his wound. His men, joining Alexander's archers, hemmed the Thebans in the sunken road leading down by the Heracleum; while the Thebans retreated towards the Heracleum, the Macedonians followed, but then the Thebans turned to bay with a shout, and the Macedonians to flight. There fell Eurybotas the Cretan, commander of the archers, and about seventy of his men, the rest took refuge with the Macedonian picked troops, and with the royal guards. In the meanwhile Alexander, seeing his troops fugitives, and the Thebans in loosened order in the pursuit, charged them with phalanx in battle formation. The Thebans were pushed inside the gates, their flight became so far a panic that while being thrust through the gates into the city they could not shut the gates in time. So there actually passed in with them within the wall such of the Macedonians as were pressing on the fugitives; the walls being now undefended on account of the large number of advanced posts. Those from this side

Καδμείαν οἱ μὲν ἐκείθεν κατὰ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον σὺν τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν Καδμείαν ἐξέβαινον ἐς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ τείχη ἔχοντα ἤδη ὥρας τῶν συνεπισπασομένων τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ἐσορβάντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν δρόμῳ ἐφέροντο.
7 Καὶ ὀλίγον μέν τινα χρόνον ἔμειναν οἱ τεταγμένοι τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον· ὡς δὲ παντάχοθεν αὐτοῖς οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ Ἀλέξανδροι ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ ἐπιφαινόμενοι προσέκειντο, οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς τῶν Θηβαίων διασπασόντες[1] διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὰ πεδία ἐξέπιπτον, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ ὡς
8 ἕκαστοις προὐχώρει ἐσῴζοντο. Ἔνθα δὴ ὀργῇ οὐχ οὕτως τι οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἀλλὰ Φωκεῖς τε καὶ Πλαταιεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Βοιωτοὶ αὐδὲ ἀμυνομένους ἔτι τοὺς Θηβαίους οἴόμενοι κοσμῳ ἔκτεινον, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπεισπίπτοντες, οἳ δὲ καὶ ἐς ἄλλην τετραμμένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ κρὸς ἱεροῖς ἱκετεύοντας, οὔτε γυναικῶν οὔτε παίδων φειδόμενοι.

IX Καὶ πάθος τοῦτο Ἑλληνικὸν μεγίθει τε τῆς ἁλούσης πόλεως καὶ ὀξύτητι τοῦ ἔργου, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ ἐς τε τοὺς παθόντας καὶ τοὺς δράσαντας, οὐ μεῖόν τι τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς μετασχόντας τοῦ
2 ἔργου ἐξέπληξε. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀθηναίοις ξυνενεχθέντα, οἳ καὶ πληθει τῶν ἀπαλλαγέντων οὐ μείονα τὴν ξυμφορὰν τῇ πόλει ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε πόρρω ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας διαφθαρῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν, καὶ τὸν πόλιν

[1] Roos suggests with plausibility διασπασόντες, but the repetition—συνεπισπασομένων . . διασπασόντες is not foreign to Arrian's style.

passed into the Cadmeia along the Ampheum, with the holders of the Cadmeia, and passed into the city proper, those by the walls, already held by the troops that had poured in together with the fugitives, passed over the walls and rushed to the market-place. For a while the Theban armed forces stood their ground by the Ampheum, but as the Macedonians pressed upon them from all sides, and Alexander appeared, now here, now there, the Theban cavalry, pushing their way through the city, streamed out upon the plain; with the infantry it was *sauve qui peut*. And then, in hot blood, it was not so much the Macedonians as Phocians and Plataeans and the other Boeotians who slaughtered broadcast the unresisting Thebans; some in their houses, breaking a way into them; some showing fight; others even suppliant in the temples—and sparing neither woman nor child.

IX. This disaster of Greeks, both by the size of the captured city, and by the sharpness of the action —and not least by the general unexpectedness of the event, both to victors and victims—caused as much horror to the other Greeks as to those who had a hand in it. The Sicilian disaster of the Athenians, if in number of the slain it brought a similar disaster upon the city, yet, since their army was destroyed far from home—and that, too, an army rather of

ξυμμαχικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ αἰκεῖον ὄντα, καὶ τῷ τὴν πολιν αὐτοῖς περιλειφθῆναι, ὡς καὶ ἐν ὑστέρῳ ἐνι πολυ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀντισχεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ τοῖς ξυμμαχοις καὶ μεγαλῳ βασιλεῖ πολεμοῦντας, εἴτε αὐτοῖς τοῖς παθοῦσιν ἴσην τὴν αἴσθησιν τῆς ξυμφορᾶς προσθῆναι, εἴτε τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ παθει ἀσπληξίαν ὁμοίαν παρασχε. Καὶ τὸ ἐν Λιγαι ποταμοῖς αὖθις Ἀθηναίων ναυαίσμα ναυτικὸν τε ἦν καὶ ἡ πολις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν καθαιρέσει καὶ νεῶν τῶν πολλῶν παραδόσει καὶ στερησει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς τανεινοτητα ἀφικομένη, τό τε σχῆμα τὸ πατριον δημου ἐφυλαξε καὶ τὴν δυναμιν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τοῦ πολλοῦ ἀνελαβεν, ὡς τά τε μακρὰ τειχη ἐκτειχισεν καὶ τῆς θαλασσης αὖθις ἐκράτησεν καὶ τοὺς τότε φοβεροὺς σφίσι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθοντας ἀφανισαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ μέρει ἐς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους διασώσασθαι. Λακεδαιμονίοις τε αὖ τὸ κατὰ Λεῦκτρα καὶ Μαντινικὸν ναυαίσμα τῷ παραλογῳ μᾶλλόν τε τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ἢ τῷ πληθει τῶν γε[1] ἀπολομένων τοις Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐξεπληξεν· ἥ τε ξυν Ἐπαμεινώνδα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Ἀρκάδων στρατεια προσβολὴ πρὸς τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ αὐτὴ τῷ δοκει τῆς ὕβρεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ἀκριβείᾳ τῶν κινδύνων αὐτούς τε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμαχοῦντας αὐτοῖς τῶν τότε πραγμάτων ἐφοβησεν. Ἡ δὲ ὃν Πλαταιῶν ἅλωσις τῇ πολεως τῇ σμικρότητι[2] τῶν ἡμεταλληφθέντων,

[1] τε Codd. Eliendt omits.
[2] Kalinka add καὶ τῇ ἀλιγότητι. Rose marks lacuna.

allies than of citizens—and their city being left to them, so that they held out some time in the war against Sparta, their allies, and Persia—even this, I say, gave no such sense of calamity to the sufferers, and did not strike the Greeks generally with such horror and amazement at the catastrophe. Or, again, the Athenian defeat at Aegospotami was at sea, and the city reduced indeed to humility by the destruction of its long walls, the surrender of most of its ships, and loss of its sovereignty, yet retained its former shape, and soon recovered its former strength; built, in fact, once more its long walls, won again its sea-power, and actually saved in some measure from severe danger those very Lacedaemonians, then so terrible, who had come so near to destroying Athens. The defeat of the Lacedaemonians themselves at Leuctra and Mantinea came as a great shock to them rather by the unexpectedness of the disaster than by the number of the slain. The onslaught of Epameinondas with his Boeotians and Arcadians upon Sparta scared the Spartans and their allies rather by the strangeness of such a sight than the gravity of the danger. The capture, again, of Plataea, was not a very serious affair because

of the small number of those captured in the city, the greater number having fled long before to Athens. Finally the capture of Melos and Scione, which were merely small fortresses, after brought shame to the capture them any great shock to the Greeks in general.

With Thebes on the other hand the heartiness of the event, her want of resources, her sudden capture, with so little trouble to the victors, the necessity such an arose from a widespread hatred, the general vengeance, the complete enslavement of the city, then one of the first in Greece in power and military prestige, were quite natural to set down to divine wrath. Thebes men said had then paid the price of length of her betrayal of the Greek cause in the Persian wars of her seizure of Plataea during the truce of her complete enslavement of the Plataeans of the massacre. The work of Thebes, not of Greece, of men who had surrendered not to Thebes but to Sparta, of the destruction of the Plataean constructed on which the Greeks ranged shoulder to shoulder against Persia had repaired the common danger, of all men, and out of the vote cast for the destruction of Athens when the suggestion was put before the allies of Sparta that the Athenians should be sold into slavery. People said that the coming disaster cast its shadow before in many divine warnings suggested then, but the manners thereof also made people reason that there had long been provocations, now condemned by the event.

The allies who took part in the attack, to whom

δὴ καὶ ἀνέστρεψαν Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν Θηβαίων διαθείναι, τῶν μὲν Καδμείαν φρουρὰ κατασχεῖν δόξαν, τὴν πόλιν δὲ κατασκάψαι ἐς ἔδαφος, καὶ τὴν χώραν κατανεῖμαι τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ὅση μὴ ἱερὰ αὐτῆς ἦν· οἰκίας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ὅσοι ὑπελείποντο Θηβαίων, πλὴν τῶν ἱερέων τε καὶ ἱερείων καὶ ὅσοι ξένοι Φιλίππου ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ ὅσοι πρόξενοι Μακεδόνων ἐγένοντο, ἀνδραποδίσασθαι. καὶ τὸν Πινδάρου δὲ τοῦ ποιητοῦ οἶκόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοῦ Πινδάρου λεγόντων ὅτι διαφυλάξειν Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτοὺς τῷ Πινδάρου. Ἔτι τούτοις Ὀρχομενόν τε καὶ Πλαταιὰς ἀνοικίσαι τε καὶ τειχίσαι οἱ ξυμμάχοι ἔγνωσαν.

X Ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας οὐ ἐξηγγέλθη τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ πάθος, Ἀρκάδες μὲν, ὅσοι βοηθήσαντες Θηβαίοις αὖθις τῆς ἀκτῆς ἀπωθήσαν, θανάτου κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ἐναντίων σφᾶς ἐς τὸν Βοιώτιον· Ἠλείοις δὲ τοῦτο μὲν φίλιον σφῶν κατέδοξεν, ὅτι ἀντιτῆλοι· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὕστερον Λυκίοις δὲ πρεσβείαν σφῶν κατὰ ὄρθρον πεμψάντων ξυγγνώμην τυχεῖν ἔδοσαν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ πρὶν τὰ παρὰ τῶν Θηβαίων ἀναγγελθέντα ἐνουθέτησαν. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ μυστηρίων τῶν μεγάλων ἀγομένων οὐ ἦσαν τινες τῶν Θηβαίων ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου τὰ μὲν μυστήρια ἀνελογίσαντο ἐξιέναι, ἐς δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀνεκινδύνευσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Ὁ δῆμος δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθὼν Δημάδου γράψαντος δέκα πρεσβείας ἐς τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηλάτας πέμπει παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον αἵτινες ἱκετηριώτατον Ἀλέξανδρον ἐγγνώσονται, ὅτι τε σφῶν ἐξ Ἰλλυ-

Alexander had entrusted the final settlement, decided to garrison the Cadmea, but to raze the city even with the ground, and to apportion its territory among the allies, save the sacred spots, and to enslave women and children, and any Theban survivors, save any who had friendship with Philip or Alexander, or any who had been patrons of Macedonians. The house of Pindar, and any of his descendants, Alexander saved—so it is related—from reverence for Pindar. Besides this, the allies determined to rebuild and fortify Orchomenus and Plataea.

X. When the fate of Thebes was notified to the other Greeks, the Arcadians who had left home to help Thebes condemned to death those who had persuaded them to take this step. The Eleans received their own fugitives, being on good terms with Alexander. The Aetolians sent embassies, tribe by tribe, and begged forgiveness, on the ground that they had revolted only because of the news brought from Thebes. The Athenians were celebrating their great mysteries when refugees came from Thebes, hot foot from the assault; in consternation they abandoned the mysteries and began to get in their stuff from the country into the city. The people came into assembly, and on the motion of Demades chose ten ambassadors from the whole body of citizens—men known to be on the most friendly terms with Alexander—and sent them to him bearing the city's rather unseasonable con-

μὲν καὶ Τριβαλλῶν ἐναντίοι γενόμενοι τὸν βίαιον τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἐς καιρὸν ἀπαγγέλλοντες, καὶ
1 ὅτι Θηβαίοις τοῦ πατέρου ἐπιμεμφόμενοι. Ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φιλάνθρωπος πρὸς τὴν τροπὴν ἐπιστρατεύσατο. ἐπιστείλας δὲ τραφῆναι πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἐξήγετο τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δικαιόπολιν καὶ Λυκούργου καὶ Τυρολίωνα δὲ ἐξήγετο καὶ Πολυσπέρχοντα καὶ Χάρητα καὶ Χαρίδημον καὶ Εὐφαντίδαν καὶ
2 Δοτίμιον καὶ Μενιδᾶν. τούτους γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἶναι τῶν τε ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ξυμφοράν τῇ τελευταίᾳ γενομένην καὶ τῶν ὕστερον ἐπὶ τῇ Φιλίππου τελευτῇ πλημμελημάτων δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐς Φίλιππον καὶ Θηβαίους δὲ τὴν ἀποστασίαν ἀνάφορον αἰτίαν οὐ μόνον ἢ τοὺς αὐτοὺς
3 Θηβαίους πατρίσασθαι. Ἀθηναίους δὲ τοὺς μὲν δήμους οὐκ ἐξέσωσεν, προσδεξάμενος δὲ αὐθις παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου, αἰφνίδιον ἐκπλεύσας τὸν ἀργὸν τοὺς ἐξωτερικοὺς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄφιν, τυχὸν μὲν αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον, τυχὸν δὲ στρατὸν τοῦ δὲ τὸν Ἀσιανὸν στόλον, οὐκ ἄλλως αὐτὸν ἐνόμισεν ἢ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπιπολάσειν. Χαιρώνειαν μέντοι, μόνον τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν τε καὶ οὐ λαθόντων φυγόντες ἐπῆλθον καὶ φυγὴν Χαιρώνειαν δὲ τὴν Ἀσιανὴν παρὰ Δαρεῖον Δαρεῖον.

XI Ταῦτα δὲ διανοούμενος ἐπεστέλλετο ἐς Μακεδονίαν καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι τὰ θύεσθαι τὸν ἐπ' Ἀρχέλαον ἐπὶ καθαρσίοις θύειν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐν Αἰγαῖς ἄγεσθαι τὰ Ὀλύμπια
2 ἃ δὲ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις λέγουσιν ὅτι ἀγῶνα ἔστησε. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀγγέλλεται τὸ Ὀρφέως τοῦ Οἰάγρου καὶ Θρᾳκὸς ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν Πιμπλείᾳ ἱδρῶτα ξυνέχειν καὶ ἄλλα ἄλλα ἀνάπαλιν

gratulations on his safe return from the Illyrians and Triballians, and on his punishment of the Theban revolt. Alexander replied for the most part in friendly tone to the embassy, but wrote a letter to the city demanding the adherents of Demosthenes and Lycurgus, as well as Hypereides, Polyeuctus, Chares, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotimus, and Moerocles: these he held responsible for the disaster of Chaeronea and wrongs later committed, at Philip's death, against himself and Philip. He also showed them to be guilty of the Theban rebellion not less than the Theban rebels themselves. The Athenians did not give up these men, but sent a second embassy to Alexander, begging him to relax his wrath towards those whom he had demanded. Alexander did so—whether from regard for Athens, or because he was anxious to get on with his Asian expedition and loath to leave anything behind in Greece which he could not trust. Charidemus alone, however, of those men whom he had demanded, but not received, he ordered to be exiled; and he took refuge in Asia at the court of King Darius.

XI When all this had been set in order Alexander returned to Macedonia, where he sacrificed the traditional sacrifice (established by Archelaus) to Olympian Zeus and kept the Olympian games at Aegae: others add that he held games in honour of the Muses. Meanwhile, word comes that the statue of Orpheus, son of Oeagrus the Thracian, in Pieria, had sweated continuously; the seers

τῶν μάντεων. Ἀριστανδρος δέ, ἀνὴρ Τελμισσεύς, μάντις, θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν Ἀλέξανδρον· δηλοῦσθαι γὰρ ὅτι στρατιᾶς ἐπῶν τε καὶ μελῶν καὶ δόξης ἀμφὶ αὐτῷ ἔχουσι πολὺς πόνος ἔσται ποιεῖν τε καὶ ᾄδειν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα.

2 Ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐξελαύνει ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου, τὰ μὲν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐπιτρέψας, αὐτὸς δὲ ὅπλων πεζοὺς μὲν σὺν ψιλοῖς τε καὶ τοξόταις οὐ πολλῷ πλείους τῶν τρισμυρίων, ἱππέας δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους. Ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ στόλος παρὰ τὴν λιμένα τὴν Κερκυνίτιν ὡς ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ τὰς 4 ἐκβολάς. Διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Στρυμόνα παρημείβετο τὸ Παγγαῖον ὄρος τὴν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀβδήρα καὶ Μαρωνείαν, πολλὰς Ἑλληνίδας ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ φέρουσαν. Ἐνθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἕβρον ποταμὸν ἀφικόμενος, διαβαίνει καὶ τὸν Ἕβρον εὐπετῶς. Ἐκείθεν δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιονικῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Μέλανα 5 ποταμὸν ἔρχεται. Διαβὰς δὲ καὶ τὸν Μέλανα ἐς Σηστὸν ἀφικνεῖται ἐν εἴκοσι τῶν πασῶν ἡμέραις ἀπὸ τῆς οἴκοθεν ἐξορμήσεως. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα θύει Πρωτεσιλάῳ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου, ὅτι καὶ Πρωτεσίλαος πρώτος ἔδοξε ἐκβῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἅμα Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐς Ἴλιον στρατευσάντων· καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῇ θυσίᾳ ἦν ἐπιτυχεστέραν οἱ γενέσθαι ἢ Πρωτεσιλάῳ τὴν ἀποβασιν.

6 Παρμενίωνα μὲν δὴ τὸν πεζῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὴν ἵππον διαβιβάσαι σταχθῆ ἐκ Σηστοῦ ἐς Ἄβυδον· καὶ διαβήσεσθαι ἐν τριήρεσι μὲν ἑκατὸν καὶ

interpreted this variously, but Aristandrus of Telmissae bade Alexander be of good cheer, it was signified, he said, that to makers of epics and chorus songs and writers of odes there would be much toil to poetize and sing of Alexander and his exploits.

In early spring Alexander marches to the Hellespont, leaving Macedonian and Greek affairs in charge of Antipatros. He led off, of infantry, with light troops and archers, not much above thirty thousand, of cavalry over five thousand. His route was past Lake Cercinitis in the direction of Amphipolis and the delta of the river Strymon. He crossed the Strymon and passed Mount Pangeon, working towards Abdera and Maroneia, Greek cities settled on the sea. Thence he reached the Hebrus and crossed it with ease; thence through Paetike he reached the Black River, crossed it, and reached Sestus after twenty days' marching in all from home. Arriving at Elaeon he sacrificed to Protesilaus at Protesilaus' tomb, since he was thought to be the first Greek of those who went with Agamemnon to Troy to disembark on Asian soil. The intention of the sacrifice was that the setting foot on Asian soil might be more prosperous to Alexander than to Protesilaus.

Parmenio was appointed to see to the ferrying over from Sestus to Abydos of the greater part of the infantry and the cavalry; they crossed in a

καὶ ἑξήκοντα πλοῖα δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ στρογγύλοι. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου ἐς τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα κατάρας ὁ πλοῦς λόγος κατέχει, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ ἀνάθημα τὸν στρατηγῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ ἀνιὼν κατὰ μέσον τὸν τοῦον τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἔθυσε, σφάξαντα ταύρους τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Νηρηΐσι σπείσασθαι δὲ χρυσῇ
1 φιάλῃ ἐς τὸν πόντον. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦον αὐτὸν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκπρέπειν αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν γῆν τὴν Ἀσίαν, καὶ βωμοὺς ἱδρύσασθαι, ἔθνη τε ἀνελεῖν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ ὄνον ἐξιδεῖν τὴν Ἀσίαν, Διὸς ἀποβατηρίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἀναθέντα δὲ ἐς Ἴλιον τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾷ θῦσαι τῇ Ἰλιάδι, καὶ τῶν πανοπλιῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν ναόν, καὶ καθέλειν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ἱερῶν τινα ὅπλων ἅτε δὴ τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ λόγου
2 σπουδάσαντα. Καὶ ταῦτα λέγουσιν ὅτι οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ μάχου. Θῦσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Πριάμῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἑρκείου λόγος κατέχει, μῆνιν Πριάμου παραιτούμενον τῷ Νεοπτολέμου γόνῳ, ὃ δὴ δὲ αὐτὸν καθῆκεν.

XII Ἀνιόντα δ' αὐτὸν ἐς Ἴλιον Μενοίτιός τε ὁ ἀνδρώτατος χρυσῷ στέφανῳ ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ ὅτι τοῦτον Χάρμι ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐς Σίγειον ἦλθον καὶ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι, οἱ μὲν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ δὲ ἐπιχωρίων. Ἡφαιστίωνα δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι τοῦ Πατρόκλου τὸν τάφον ἐστεφάνωσεν οἱ δὲ,

[1] A reads οἱ δὲ ἐστεφάνωσεν· Ἡφαιστίωνα δὲ ἐστεφάνωσεν, transposed by Ernesti. The transposition does not help the passage which has become corrupted by interpolation.

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hundred and sixty triremes and in a good number of cargo boats. Most authorities say that Alexander sailed from Elaeon to the Achaean harbour, and steered the admiral's ship himself, sacrificing, when in the midst of the strait, a bull to Poseidon, and pouring into the sea a drink offering from a golden bowl to the goddesses of the sea. Further, legend says that he disembarked first on Asian soil, armed cap-à-pie, and set up altars both where he started from Europe and where he landed in Asia to Zeus of Safe Landings, Athena, and Heracles. Then he ascended to Ilium, and sacrificed to Athena of Ilium, dedicated his full armour, laying it up in the temple, and took down in its place some of the dedicated arms yet remaining from the Trojan war; these, it is said, his bodyguard bore before him into battle. Then he sacrificed also to Priam at the altar of Zeus of Enclosures—so runs the legend—praying Priam not to be wroth with the race of Neoptolemus, of which he himself was a scion.

XII. When Alexander reached Ilium Menoetius the navigator crowned him with a golden wreath and so did Chares, the Athenian, arriving from Segeium with others, Greeks or natives of the place; then Hephaestion, they say, placed a wreath on Patroclus' tomb, and Alexander likewise on Achilles'

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ὅτι καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως [δρόμον] τοῦτον ἀνεφώνησεν καὶ εὐδαιμονίσαντα εἶναι, ὡς ὁ λόγος Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀχιλλέα, ὅτι Ὁμήρου κήρυκα εἶχε τοῦ ἔργου
2 μεγάλου ἔσεσθαι. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅτε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπῃνέθη τούτου ἕνεκα ὑπὸ εὐδαιμονιστῶν Ἀχιλλέως ὅτι αὐτῷ τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον ἐπαινούμενον τὸ χρῆσθαι τούτῳ δοκοῦντι βασιλεῖ εἶναι ἐξαγγέλῳ δὲ καὶ κήρυκι τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργων ἐπαίνων οὐκ εἶναι τὸν κατηλογασμένον αὐτὸν τοῦτο τὸ μέγιστον ἐπαινεῖν ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὸν μέλλοντα ἄλλον Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἴσσου τε καὶ Ἰλιακοῦ καὶ Θήβας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀέθλους τι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπιτελοῦντα ἔσεσθαι πολὺ μᾶλλον γνησιώτερα τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ τὰ φαιδρότατα τῶν τοῦδε ἔργων
3 ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἡ τῶν μύσων τῶν Κύρου ἀνοδία ἐπὶ βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην καὶ τὰ Κλεάρχου τε καὶ τῶν ἅμα αὐτῷ ἀλλοτίων παθήματα καὶ ἡ κατάβασις αὐτῶν δόκιμον, ὃν Ξενοφῶν αὐτὸν εὐτυχῆ πολλὰ τὰ ἐν φανερῷ ἐς ἀνθρώπους Ξενοφῶντος ἔσεσθαι τοῦτο ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρου τε καὶ
4 τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα. Καίτοι Ἀλεξάνδρου οὔτε ξυν ἄλλῳ ἐστρατεύσατο, οὔτε φύσιν μείζω βασιλέως τοῦ τῷ σοφίᾳ τῷ ἐπὶ φιλίαν τε ἐμπόλιν γνησιώτερον ἐπιστήσαν· ἀλλ᾽ ὅσα δὴ τε ἄλλα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τούτου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἔργα ἐπαινεῖται κατὰ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐπιφανῆ ἐστιν, κατὰ πλῆθος ἢ μεγέθη ἢ βαρβάρων ἀνατετράφθαι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν σωφρονεῖν φύσει τε τοῦδε τοῦ ξυγγραφέως καὶ ἀπαίδευτον ἐμοὶ φανῆναι κατατετάσθαι ἐς ἀνθρώπους τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα.
5 Ὅσοι δὲ ἄλλοι τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐμοὶ ἐπαινεῖν γεγόνασιν, τὰ μὲν ἔργα οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἀπαγγεῖλαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄλλοις ἐπιτρέπειν ἐς ἀνθρώπους τοῦτο

tomb; Alexander—as is related—accounting Achilles happy in that he had a Homer to be the herald of his after-fame. Alexander might well count Achilles happy on this score, since, fortunate as Alexander was in other ways, there was a great gap left here, and Alexander's exploits were never worthily bruited abroad; no one did so in narrative prose, no one sang of him in verse; nay, not even in choral lyric was Alexander chanted as were Hiero, Gelo, Thero, and many others, men not of Alexander's stature; whence Alexander's exploits are far less known than the minor deeds of past ages. Why, the Anabasis of the Ten Thousand with Cyrus against Artaxerxes, the sufferings of Clearchus and those captured with him, their descent to the sea, led by Xenophon, are, thanks to Xenophon, far better known to the world than Alexander and Alexander's exploits. Yet Alexander did not merely take the field with someone else; he did not run away from the Great King and only conquer those who tried to stop the seaward march, no one man gave proof of so many or such wondrous deeds, whether in number or greatness, among Greeks and Orientals alike. That, I declare, is why I have set forth to write this history, not judging myself unworthy to blazon before mankind the deeds of Alexander. This at least—whoever I am—I know in my favour, I need not write my name—it is not unknown among

οὐδὲ πατρίδα ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔσεσθαι οὐδὲ τέκνα τὸ ἴσον, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐν τέλει ἀρχὴν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἔφασαν ἀλλ' ἐπίσης ἀναγκαῖον, ὅτι ἅμα πατρίς τε καὶ τέκνα καὶ ἀρχαὶ οὐδὲ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐσεῖ τε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δὲ ἐγένοντο. Καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε οὐκ ἀπαξιοῦντες τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν τῇ φυλῇ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἀπὸ οὗ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τοῦ ἔπλευσαν

6 Ἐξ Ἴλιον δὲ ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν ἔσεσθαι ἐν τάξει ἡ δύναμις αὐτῷ διαβεβηκυῖα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς Περκώτην τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ λαμψάκου παραμείψας τὸν τῷ Πριάπῳ ποταμὸν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶ ἐν τῶν ὁρῶν Ἴδης πόλεις ἐν Φαλακρᾷ τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου τε καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλήσπου τούτου Ἔνθεν δὲ ἐς Ἀβυδοῦ ἀφίκετο, Κελαινὰς

7 πόλιν παραμείψας Σκάπτει δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπιστρατεύσαντι πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ τούτου ἡγεμὼν ἦν Ἀρταπάτης ὁ Ἀρταβάζου. ἦγον τῶν τε ἄλλων τὸν Ἴδην τὸν ἐξ Ἀντάνδου καὶ τὸν Ἀντισσαῖον ἔχων τὸν τε ἀπὸ τῆς Σκήψεως ὁ Σκήψιος, καὶ τῶν προβούλων πολλοὺς μετῆν Ἴδης τούτους κατὰ δὲ τὴν παρόδον Πρόκτην πολλὰ κτήματα ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιόντων τοὺς παραληφομένους ἀπιστείλας σὺν Παυσανίᾳ τῷ Ἀλκίππου τῶν τινὰ

8 Πέντε δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἦσαν Ἀρκαδίας καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Πετιτίου καὶ Νιφάτου καὶ ξὺν τούτοις Σπιθριδάτης ὁ Ἀνδὰς καὶ Ἰονίας στρατὸς καὶ Ἀρσίτης ὁ τῆς τῶν Ἑλληνοστὴρ Φρυγῶν ἄνδρας ἦρχεν Ἵππου δὲ τῶν Ζαλμὸς τῇ πολλὰ καταστρατοπεδεύσατο ἦσαν ξὺν τῷ ἵππῳ τε τῇ Παφλαγόνων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς μισθο-

9 φόρους Πεντηκοντόρους δὲ αὐτοῖς νῆας τὸν

men—nor my country nor my family nor any office I may have held among my own folk, this I do set on paper, that this history is, and was from my boyhood, my country, family, and offices. That is why I do not shrink from setting myself alongside of the masters of Greek speech, since my subject was first among the masters of Greek warfare.

From Ilium Alexander came to Arisbe, where his whole force, after crossing the Hellespont, had encamped, next day to Percote; the next, he passed Lampsacus and camped by the river Practius, which flowing from Mount Ida runs into the sea that lies between the Hellespont and the Euxine Sea. Thence he came to Hermotos, passing by Colonae. He sent scouts ahead of the army; Amyntas, son of Arrabaeus, led them, with the territorial squadron from Apollonia, whose squadron-leader was Socrates son of Sathon, with four squadrons of the advanced scouts, as they were called. On his passage the city Priapus was surrendered to him by the citizens, and he sent a party to take it over under Paregorus son of Lycagorus, one of the territorials.

The Persian commanders were Arsames, Rheomithres, Petines, Niphates, and with them Spithridates the satrap of Lydia and Ionia and Arsites the governor of Hellespontine Phrygia. They had already encamped by the city of Zeleia with the Persian cavalry and the mercenary Greeks. When they held a council of war, Alexander's crossing

παρόντων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος διαβεβηκὼς ἠγγέλλετο, Μέμνων ὁ Ῥόδιος παρῄνει μὴ δια κινδύνου ἰέναι πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, τῷ τε πεζῷ πολὺ περιόντας σφῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου παρόντος, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἀπόντος Δαρείου· προιόντας δὲ τὸν τε χίλωνα ἀφαιζεῖν καταπατοῦντας τῇ ἵππῳ καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸν ἐμπιπράναι, μηδὲ τῶν πόλεων αὐτῶν φειδομένους· οὐ γὰρ μενεῖν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. Ἄρσιτην δὲ λέγεται εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ τῶν Περσῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν περιδοῖ μίαν οἰκίαν ἐμπρησθεῖσαν τῶν ὑπὸ σὲ τεταγμένων ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας Ἄρσιτῃ προσθεῖσθαι, ὅτι καὶ ὑποπτόν τι αὐτοῖς ἦν ἐς τὸν Μέμνονα, τριβὰς ἐμποιεῖν ἐκόντα τῷ πολέμῳ τῆς ἐς βασιλέως τιμῆς ἕνεκα.

XIII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος προὐχώρει ἐπὶ τὸν Γρανικὸν ποταμὸν ξυντεταγμένην τῷ στρατῷ, διπλῆν μὲν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τάξας, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας κατὰ τὰ κέρατα ἄγων, τὰ σκευοφόρα δὲ κατόπιν ἐπιταξας ἕπεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ προκατασκεψομένους τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἦγεν αὐτῷ Ἡγέλοχος, ἱππέας μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ξυμμισοφόρους, τῶν δὲ ψιλῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τε οὐ πολὺ ἀπεῖχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Γρανικοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν σκοπῶν σπουδῇ ἐλαύνοντες ἀπήγγελλον ἐπὶ τῷ Γρανικῷ πέραν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐφεστάναι τεταγμένους ὡς ἐς μάχην. Ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν συνετάττεν ὡς μαχουμένους. Παρμενίων δὲ προσελθὼν λέγει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τάδε· "Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, βασιλεῦ, ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ἐν τῷ

having been reported, Memnon of Rhodes advised them to run no risk of war with the Macedonians, who were far their superiors in infantry, especially with Alexander actually on the spot, while Darius was far away from them, they had far best advance, destroying the fodder, by trampling it with their cavalry, and burning the growing crops, not sparing even their cities. For Alexander would not then stay in the country for want of provisions. Arsites, however, is reported to have said in the Persian Council that he would not suffer one house belonging to his men to be burned: the Persians supported Arsites, having suspicions of Memnon, thinking that he was delaying warlike operations for the sake of the office he held from the king.

XIII. Meanwhile, Alexander was advancing to the river Granicus with his force all ready for battle, having doubled his phalanx of the men-at-arms, with the cavalry on the wings, and ordering the transport to follow behind the scouts and reconnoitring parties which Hegelochus led, with the lancers, and five hundred light troops. Alexander was not far from the river Granicus, when the scouts, riding in at full speed, reported that the Persians were arrayed for battle on the farther side of the Granicus. Alexander then formed battle order; and Parmenio came forward and said

"My view, sir, is that we should encamp at once

παρόντι καταστρατοπεδεύσασι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ ἄχθῃ ὡς ἴχομεν. Τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους οὐ δοκῶ τολμήσειν πολὺ τῶν πιζῶν λειπομένους πλησίον ἡμῶν αὐλισθῆναι, καὶ ταύτῃ παρίξειν δοθὲν εὐπετῶς τῷ στρατῷ διαβαλεῖν τὸν παραποταμόν· ὑποφθάσομεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς περάσαντες πρὶν ἐκείνους ἐς τάξιν καθίστασθαι. Νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἀκινδύνως μοι δοκοῦμεν ἐπιχειρήσειν τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐν μετεπτῳ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄγειν τὸν στρατόν. Πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἁρπάσαι βαθέα, οἱ δὲ ἄχθαι αὗται ὁρᾶς ὅτι ὑπερυψηλοι καὶ ἀρημωδεις οἷόν αἱ αὐτῶν ἀκταὶ τε οὖν καὶ κατὰ κεφαλῆς, ὕψος ἀσθενεστατον, ἐμβαίνουσιν ἐπιπεσοῦσαι ἐς φάλαγγα ξυντεταγμένοι τῶν πολεμίων αἱ ἵππεις καὶ τὸ πρῶτον σφαλερὰ ἐς τε τὰ παραντα χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν ὑπὲρ πασῶν τοῦ πολέμου κρίσιν σφαλερόν."

6 Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, "Ταῦτα μέν, ἔφη, ὦ Παρμενίων, γιγνώσκειν αἰσχυνομαι δέ, εἰ τὸν μὲν Ἑλλήσποντον διέβην εὐπετῶς, τοῦτο δὲ σμικρὸν ῥεῦμα (οὕτω τῷ ὀνόματι τὸν Γρανικὸν ἐκφαυλίσας), εἴρξει ἡμᾶς τοῦ μὴ οὐ διαβῆναι 7 ὡς ἴχομεν. Καὶ τοῦτο οὔτε πρὸς Μακεδόνων τὴν δόξης οὔτε πρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ὀξύτητος νοοῦμαι· ἀναθαρρήσειν δὲ δοκῶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἀξιομάχους Μακεδόσιν ὄντας, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ σφῶν δέους ἐν τῇ παραυτίκα ἔπαθον."

XIV Ταῦτα εἰπὼν Παρμενίωνα μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας πέμπει ἡγησομενον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν παρῆγεν. Προσαχθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ Φιλώτας ὁ Παρμενίωνος, ἔχων τοὺς

on the river bank, as we are; the enemy, I believe, being outnumbered in infantry, will not dare to bivouac near us, and hence we can easily cross at dawn, and we shall be across before they get into order. As things are, I feel that we should run great risk in taking action, since we cannot take an army across a river on a wide front, for one can see that there are many deep parts of the river, its banks, as you see, are very high, sometimes like cliffs. As we emerge in disorder and in deployed order, the weakest of formations, the enemy cavalry in good solid order will charge. The first disaster would be grievous at the present, and most harmful for the general result of the war."

Alexander, however, replied: "This I know, Parmenio, but I should feel ashamed if after our crossing so easily the Hellespont, this petty stream (so disrespectfully did he speak of the Granicus) shall hinder us from crossing, just as we are. This I consider unworthy either of the prestige of the Macedonians or of my own swift dealing with danger; I believe the Persians would pluck up courage, thinking themselves as good fighters as the Macedonians, since up to the present they have not experienced anything to cause them alarm."

XIV. So spake Alexander, and at once sent off Parmenio to lead the left wing, he himself passed along to the right. As commander of the right he had already appointed Philotas son of Parmenio,

ἑταίρους τοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς
'Αγριᾶνας τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς· 'Αμύντας δὲ ὁ 'Αρραβαίου τούς τε σαρισσοφόρους ἱππέας ἔχων Φιλίππῳ ἐτεταχθη καὶ τοὺς Παιόνας καὶ τὴν Ὀλην τὴν
3 Σωκράτους. Ἐχομένου δὲ τούτων ἐτάχθησαν οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ τῶν ἑταίρων, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Νικάνωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἡ Περδίκκου τοῦ Ὀρόντου φάλαγξ· ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Κοίνου τοῦ Πολεμοκράτους· ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Κρατεροῦ τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου· ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ 'Αμύντου τοῦ 'Ανδρομένους· ἐπὶ δὲ ὧν
3 Φίλιππος ὁ 'Αμύντου ἦρχε. Τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἱππεῖς ἐτάχθησαν, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Κάλας ὁ 'Αρπάλου· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ ξυμμαχοὶ ἱππεῖς, ὧν ἦρχε Φίλιππος ὁ Μενελάου· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ Θρᾷκες, ὧν ἦρχεν 'Αγάθων· ἐχομένου δὲ τούτων πεζοὶ ἡ τε Κρατεροῦ φάλαγξ καὶ ἡ Μελεάγρου καὶ ἡ Φιλίππου ἐστε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς ξυμπάσης τάξεως.
4 Περσῶν δὲ ἱππεῖς μὲν ἦσαν ἐς δισμυρίους, ξένοι δὲ πεζοὶ μισθοφόροι ἑλλῆνες ἀποδεόντες δισμυρίων ἐτάχθησαν δὲ τὴν μὲν ἵππον παρατείναντες τῷ ποταμῷ κατὰ τὴν ὄχθην ἐπὶ φάλαγγα μακράν, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς κατόπιν τῶν ἱππέων· καὶ γὰρ ὑπερῃώρει ἡν τὸ ὕπερ τὴν ὄχθην χωρίον. Ἦν δὲ 'Αλεξάνδρου αὐτὸν καθεωρῶν· δῆλος γὰρ ἦν τῶν τε ὅπλων τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τῇ σὺν ἀσκήσει θεραπείᾳ, κατὰ τὸ εὐωνύμου σφῶν ἐπεῖχον τὰ, ταύτῃ πυκνοὺς ἐτάξαν τῇ ὄχθῃ τὰς ὅλας τῶν ἵππων.
5 Χρόνον μὲν δὴ ἀμφότερα τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀφιστῶντες ὑπὸ τοῦ τε μέλλοντος ἀκηδῶς ἡσυχίαν ἦγον καὶ σιγὴ ἦν πολλὴ ἀφ'
6

with the territorial cavalry, the archers, and the Agrianes, javelin-men. To Philotas was attached Amyntas son of Arrabaeus, with the lancers, the Paeonians, and Socrates squadron. Next to them were marshalled the territorial guards, led by Nicanor son of Parmenio, beside these was the phalanx of Perdiccas son of Orontes, also that of Coenus son of Polemocrates, and those of Craterus son of Alexander, Amyntas son of Andromenes, and the troops under Philip son of Amyntas. On the left wing came first the Thessalian cavalry, commanded by Calas son of Harpalus, next the allied cavalry, under Philip son of Menelaus, then the Thracians, under Agetho, on their right were the infantry, the phalanx of Craterus, of Meleager, of Philip, up to the centre of the whole force

The Persians had about 20,000 cavalry, and little short of the same number of infantry, foreign mercenaries. Their disposition was, the cavalry drawn up parallel to the river, and thus making an extended phalanx, the infantry behind them, the land above the bank was high and commanding Where they perceived Alexander himself – you could not mistake him, from the splendour of his equipment and the obsequious attendance of his suite—opposite their left wing, they massed here on the bank their cavalry squadrons.

For some time the two forces, on the river's brink, dreading to precipitate the event, remained at ease,

ἑκατέρων. Οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι προσέμενον τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὅποτε ἐμβήσονται ἐς τὸν ποταμόν, ὡς ἐπιμισσόμενοι ἐμβαίνουσιν· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐγκελευσάμενος ἕπεσθαί τε καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν προδρόμους ἱππέας καὶ μὴν καὶ τοὺς Παίονας προεμβαλεῖν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔχοντα Ἀμύντου τοῦ Ἀρραβαίου καὶ τῶν πεζῶν μίαν τάξιν, καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὴν Σωκράτους ἴλην Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλίππου ἄγοντα, ἣ δὴ καὶ ἐτύγχανε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ ἱππικοῦ πάντος ἔχουσα ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· αὐτὸς δὲ ἄγων τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ὑπὸ σαλπιγγῶν τε καὶ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀλαλάξοντας ἐμβαίνει ἐς τὸν ποταμόν, λοξὴν ἀεὶ παρατείνων τὴν τάξιν ἢ παρῄλαττε τὸ ῥεῦμα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἐμβαίνοντι αὐτῷ οἱ Πέρσαι κατὰ κέρας προσπίπτοιεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς ἀνωτέρω τῇ φυλαγγὶ προσμίξῃ αὐτοῖς.

XV. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, ἦ πρῶτοι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀμύντου καὶ Σωκράτην προσοσχον τῇ ὄχθῃ, ταύτῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπωθεν ἐβαλλον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσακοντίζοντες οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ χθαμαλώτερα αὐτῆς ἰόντες ἅτε τὸ ὕδωρ καταβαίνοντες. Καὶ ἦν τῶν τε ἱππέων ὦθισμος, τῶν μὲν ἐμβαινειν ἐς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῶν δ' ἐξιέναι τῆς ἐμβάσεως, καὶ πολλὰ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν πολλὴ ἄφεσις, οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ξὺν τοῖς δόρασιν ἐμάχοντο. Ἀλλὰ τῷ τε πλήθει πολὺ ἐλαττούμενοι οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐκακοπάθουν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξ ἀμφιβίου τε καὶ ἅμα κατωθεν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀμυνόμενοι, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τῆς ὄχθης, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι

and in deep silence. The Persians awaited the Macedonians, to fall on them emerging from the river, so soon as they should attempt the crossing; but Alexander flung himself on to his horse, and calling on his suite to follow and show themselves brave men and true, he advanced his first line of scouts and the Paeonians into the stream, under command of Amyntas son of Arrabaeus, and also one file of the infantry, before these he sends Socrates' squadron, Ptolemy son of Philip commanding, this was on the list as leading cavalry squadron for that day, then he himself leading the right wing: bugles sounding, and the battle cry going up to the God of Battles—boldly takes to the stream, inclining his troops obliquely to the current, so that the Persians should not fall on him in extended front, but that he himself might attack them, as far as might be, in close order

XV The Persians, at the point where their vanguard, under Amyntas and Socrates, held the river bank, shot their volleys from above, some hurling their javelins from their commanding position a little removed from the bank, others on the more level ground, or even advancing down to the stream. There was a great scrimmage of the cavalry, the Greeks trying to land, the Persians to stop them, great showers of Persian javelins, much thrusting of Macedonian spears. But the Macedonians, much outnumbered, came off badly in the first onslaught, they were insecure, and below, the enemy on a strong position above, besides, the flower of the Persian

τὸ κράτιστον τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου ταύτῃ ἐστάθησαν, αἵ τε Μέμνονος παῖδες καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μέμνων
3 μετὰ τούτων ἐκινδύνευεν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν Μακεδόνων ξυμμίξαντες τοῖς Πέρσαις κατέσκηψαν πρὸς αὐτούς, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, ὅσοι γε μὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πελάζοντα ἀπέκλιναν αὐτῶν. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἤδη πλησίον ἦν, ἅμα οἱ ἄγων τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιόν, καὶ ἐμβάλλει ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας
4 πρῶτος ἵνα τὸ πᾶν στίφος τῆς ἵππου καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν τεταγμένοι ἦσαν· καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ξυνίστησι μάχην καρτερὰ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοις τῶν τάξεων τοῖς Μακεδόσι διέβαινον οὐ χαλεπῶς ἤδη. Καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἡ μάχη, πεζομαχία δὲ μᾶλλον τι ἦν. Ξυνέχοντο γὰρ ἵπποι τε ἵπποις καὶ
5 ἄνδρες ἀνδράσιν ἠγωνίζοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐξώσαι εἰς ὄπισθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐχθρᾶς καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον βιάσασθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ Μακεδόνες, οἱ δὲ εἴργειν τε αὐτῶν τὴν ἔκβασιν, οἱ Πέρσαι, καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν αὖθις ἀπωσάσθαι. Καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἐπλησίαζον ἤδη οἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ ὅτι ξυνετοῖς ἀρείοσι πρὸς
6 πάλτα ἐμάχοντο.

Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυντρίβεται τὸ δόρυ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ· ὁ δὲ Ἀρετίαν ἤτει δόρυ ἕτερον, ἀναβολὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν· τῷ δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ πονουμένῳ συντετριμμένον τὸ δόρυ ἦν, ὁ δὲ τῷ ἥμισυ κεκλασμένου τοῦ δόρατος οὐκ ἀφανὲς ἐμάχετο, καὶ τοῦτο δείξας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄλλον αἰτεῖν ἐκέλευεν. Δημάρατος δέ, ἀνὴρ Κορίνθιος, τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταίρων, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὸ αὑτοῦ
7 δόρυ. Καὶ ὃς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ἰδὼν Μιθριδάτην

cavalry was posted at the leading Memnon's sons and Memnon himself bearing the brunt along with them. The first of the Macedonians came into conflict with the Persians and were cut down after prodigies of valour as to a man were those who fell back on Alexander as he approached. For he was already near leading on the right wing and he charged the Persians himself the first to attack, just where was the press of cavalry and where the Persian commanders were posted. A fierce fight raged about him and meanwhile the Macedonians, line after line, kept crossing a ford not so difficult. It was a cavalry struggle though on infantry lines horse pressed against horse, man against man, wrestling one with another, Persians trying to push some for all the Persians from the bank and force them on to the open ground, the Persians trying to bar their landing and hurl them back into the river. Already however Alexander and his guards were getting the best of it and were through their foremost foes and their dispositions but because they were fighting with stout cornel wood lances against short swords.

In the medley Alexander's lance was broken. He called on Aretis one of his men to make for another, but Aretis had also broken his lance, and was hard pressed though putting up a brave fight with the half of his broken weapon. Throwing this to Alexander he cried out to him to run upon another mate but Demaratus of Corinth one of Alexander's squires gave him his own lance. Alexander grasping it and seeing Mithridates, son-in-law of Darius,

τὸν Δαρείου γαμβρὸν πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων προϊππεύοντα καὶ ἐπαγόντα ἅμα οἱ ὥσπερ ἐμβολον τῶν ἱππέων, ἐξελαύνει καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ παίσας ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τῷ δόρατι καταβάλλει τὸν Μιθριδάτην. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Ῥοισάκης μὲν ἐπελαύνει τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ παίει Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν κεφαλὴν τῇ κοπίδι· καὶ τοῦ μὲν κράνους τι ἀπέθραυσε, τὴν πληγὴν 8 δὲ ἔσχε τὸ κράνος. Καὶ καταβάλλει καὶ τοῦτον Ἀλέξανδρος παίσας τῷ ξυστῷ διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸ στέρνον. Σπιθριδάτης δὲ ἀνεστήκατο μὲν ἤδη ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον ὀπισθεν τὴν κοπίδα, ὑποφθάσας δὲ αὐτὸν Κλεῖτος ὁ Δρωπίδου παίει κατὰ τοῦ ὤμου καὶ ἀποκόπτει τὸν ὦμον τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου ξὺν τῇ κοπίδι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπεμβαίνοντες ἀεὶ τῶν ἱππέων βοῆς προύχωρει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν προσαγαγόντα τοὺς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον.

XVI Καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι παιόμενοί τε πανταχόθεν ἤδη ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἵπποι τοῖς ξυστοῖς καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἱππέων ἐξωθούμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ψιλῶν ἀναμεμιγμένων τοῖς ἱππεῦσι βλαπτόμενοι, ἐγκλίνουσι ταύτῃ πρῶτον ᾗ Ἀλέξανδρος προεκινδύνευεν. Ὡς δὲ τὸ μέσον ἐνεδίδουσι αὐτοῖς, παρερρήγνυτο δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τῆς ἵππου, καὶ ἦν δὴ φυγὴ καστερά. 2 Τῶν μὲν δὴ ἱππέων τῶν Περσῶν ἀπέθανον ἐς χιλίους. Οὐ γὰρ πολλὴ ἡ δίωξις ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἐξετράπη Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς μισθοφόρους· ὧν τὸ στῖφος ᾗ τὸ πρῶτον ἐταχθη ἐκπλῆξει μᾶλλόν τι τοῦ παραλόγου ἢ λογισμῷ βεβαίῳ ἔμενε. Καὶ τούτοις τῷ τε φάλαγγα

riding far ahead of the line and leading on a body of horse, formed in wedge shape, charges forth in advance of his men, thrusts his lance into Mithridates' face and hurls him to the ground. But Rhoesaces rode at Alexander, and smote him on the head with his cleaver; he sheared off part of the helmet, but still the helmet parried the blow. Alexander hurled him also to the ground, piercing with his lance through the cuirass into his breast. Spithridates had already raised his scimitar to cut down Alexander, but Clitus son of Dropides, smartly slipping in, drove at Spithridates's shoulder with his cleaver and shore it off, and now those of the cavalry who had made good their way on the river bank kept coming up and joining the little band round Alexander.

XVI. The Persians were now being roughly handled from all quarters, they and their horses being struck in the face with lances, they were driven in front of the cavalry, and were much inconvenienced by the light troops, who became confused with the cavalry, and so they began to give way first at the very point where Alexander was bearing the brunt of the affray. But when their centre began to sag, then the cavalry wings also were pierced, and they turned to flight in earnest. Upwards of a thousand Persian horsemen perished, for there was not much pursuit since Alexander turned against the foreign mercenary troops. The mass of these stood their ground, rather rooted to the spot by the unexpected catastrophe than from serious resolution. Bringing his phalanx to bear on them and bidding the cavalry

ἐπαγαγων καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας πάντα προσπεσεῖν κελευσας, ἐν μεσῳ δὲ ὀλίγου καταλοιπεῖ αὐτους, ὥστε διεφυγε μὲν οὐδεις, ὅτι μὴ διέλαθέ τις ἐν ταῖς νεκροις, ἐζωγρηθησαν δὲ ἀμφι τους δισχιλιους. 3 Ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμονες των Περσῶν Νίφατης τε καὶ Πετισης καὶ Στιβαρβατης ὁ Λυδιας σατραπης, καὶ ὁ τῶν Καππαδοκων ὑπαρχος Μιθροβουζανης καὶ Μιθριδατης ὁ τοῦ Δαρειου γαμβρος καὶ Ἀρβουπαλης ὁ Δαρειου τοῦ Ἀρταξερξου παις καὶ Φαρναπης ἀδελφος αὐτου τῆς Δαρειου γυναικος, καὶ ὁ τῶν ξενων ἡγεμων Ὦαρης. Ἀρσιτης δὲ ἐκ μεν τῆς μαχης φευγει ἐς Φρυγιαν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀποθνησκει αὐτος προς αὐτοῦ. ως ὁ λογος, ὅτι αὐτον ἐδοκει Περσαις γενεσθαι τοῦ ἐν τῷ τοτε ἁμαρτηματος. 4 Μακεδονων δὲ τῶν μεν ἑταιρων ἀμφι τους ἑξηκοντα καὶ πεντε ἐν τῇ πρωτῃ προσβολῇ ἀπεθανον· καὶ τουτων χαλκαῖ εἰκονες ἐν Δηλῳ ἑστᾶσιν, Ἀλεξανδρου κελευσαντος Λυσιππου ποιῆσαι, δεύτερ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρου μονοι προκριθεις ἑπτα των δὲ ἄλλων πεντε ὕστερ τους ἑξηκοντα, πεζοι 5 δὲ ες τους τριακοντα. Καὶ τουτους τῇ ὑστεραιᾳ ἔθαψεν Ἀλεξανδρος ξυν τοῖς ἄλλοις τε καὶ ἄλλῳ κοσμῳ· τοκεῦσι δὲ αὐτου καὶ παισὶ τῶν τε κατὰ την χωραν ἀτελειαν ἔδωκε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἡ τῷ σωματι λειτουργια ἡ κατὰ τὰς στησεις ἑκαστων εἰσφοραί. Καὶ τῶν τετρωμενων δὲ πολλην προνοιαν ἐσχεν· ἐπελθων τε αὐτος ἑκαστους καὶ τὰ τραυματα ἰδων καὶ ὅπως τις ἐτρωθη ἐρομενος καὶ ὅ τι πραττων αὐτεῖν τε καὶ ἀλλοθι νικησασθαι οἱ παρεσχεν. 6 Ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν Περσῶν τους ἡγεμονας ἔθαψεν· ἔθαψε δὲ καὶ τους μισθο-

fall on them from all quarters, he hemmed them in and soon massacred them; not one escaped—unless perhaps a few slipped through among the dead—and some two thousand were taken prisoners. Of Persian commanders there fell Niphates, Petines, Spithridates, satrap of Lydia, Mithrobuzanes the Cappadocian commandant, Mithridates, son-in-law of Dareius, Arbupales son of Dareius, son of Artaxerxes, and Pharnaces, brother of Dareius' queen, and Omares, commander of the foreign troops. Arsites fled from the battle into Phrygia and there, it is said, died by his own hand, because the blame of the Persian failure seemed to lie at his door.

Of the Macedonians, among the territorial troops, about twenty-five fell in the first shock. Brazen statues of them have been set up at Dium, Alexander gave the order to Lysippus, who out of a crowd of competitors had cast the statue of Alexander himself. Of the rest of the cavalry more than sixty perished, and about thirty infantry. All these Alexander buried next day with their arms and other accoutrements, to their parents and children he gave remission of local taxes and of all other personal services and property taxes. He showed much concern about the wounded, visiting each, examining their wounds, asking how they were received, and encouraging each to recount, and even boast of, his exploits. He buried also the Persian commanders

φόρους Ἕλληνας, οἳ ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις στρατευσάντες ἀπέθανον· δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους Βλάβε, τούτους δὲ πέδας ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἀπιπεμψεν ἐργάζεσθαι, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ κοινῇ δόξαντα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν Ἕλληνες ὄντες ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐμαχοντο.
7 Ἀνέπεμψε δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἀθήνας τριακοσίας πανοπλίας Περσικὰς ἀνάθημα εἶναι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν πόλει· καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπιγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε τόδε· Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλίππου καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικούντων.

XVII Καταστησας δὲ Κᾶλαν σατράπην ἧς Ἀρσίτης ἦρχε καὶ τοὺς φόρους τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπιφέρειν ταξας οἵσπερ Δαρεῖῳ ἔφερον ὅσοι μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων κατοικοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπιχωριζοντα σφίσι, τούτους μὲν ἀπαλλαττεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν
2 ἑκάστοις ἐκέλευε· Ζελίτας δὲ ἀφῆκε τῆς αἰτίας, ὅτι πρὸς βίαν ἔγνω συστρατεύσαι τοῖς βαρβάροις· Δασκύλιον δὲ παραλιπόμενον Παρμενίωνα ἔπεμψε· καὶ παραλαμβάνει Δασκύλιον Παρμενίων ἐκλιπαντων τῶν φρουρῶν.
3 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Σαρδέων προὐχώρει· καὶ ἀπέχοντος αὐτοῦ ὅσον ἐξδομήκοντα σταδίους Σαρδέων, ἦκον παρ' αὐτὸν Μιθρήνης τε ὁ φρουραρχος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσι καὶ Σαρδιανῶν οἱ δυνατώτατοι, ἐκδιδοντες οἱ μὲν τὴν πόλιν, ὁ δὲ
4 Μιθρήνης τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὰ χρήματα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἕρμῳ ποταμῷ· ἀπέχει δὲ ὁ Ἕρμος ἀπὸ Σαρδέων σταδίους ὅσον εἴκοσιν· Ἀμύντας δὲ τὸν Ἀνδρομένους τὴν ἄκραν παραληψόμενον ἔστειλε ἐς

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and the mercenary Greeks who fell in the ranks of the foe; such as he captured, he handcuffed and sent to Macedonia to hard labour, because they had violated Greek public opinion by fighting with Orientals against Greeks. He sent to Athens three hundred Persian panoplies as an offering to Athena of Athens; he had this inscription attached: Alexander son of Philip and the Greeks, save Lacedaemonians, these spoils from the Persians in Asia.

XVII Alexander then made Calas satrap of the satrapy which Arsites had held, ordering the inhabitants to pay the same taxes as they used to pay to Darius, such of the natives as came down from the hills and gave themselves up he bade return to their homes. The city Zelela he exempted from blame, knowing that they had been impressed to fight with the Persians. He sent Parmenio also to take over Dascylion, and this he duly did—the guards having evacuated the place

Then Alexander marched towards Sardes, and when he was still about seventy stades away there came to him Mithrines, commander of the Acropolis guard, and with him the chief citizens of Sardes, these gave up the city, and Mithrines the fortress and the treasure. Alexander himself camped on the Hermus river; this river runs about twenty stades from Sardes; but he sent Amyntas, son of Andromenes, to Sardes to take over the fortress,

Σαρδεις και Μαιρίνην μὲν ἐν τιμῇ ἴσα εἶχε. Σαρδιανοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λυδοὺς τοῖς νόμοις τε τοῖς πάλαι Λυδῶν χρῆσθαι ἔδωκε καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι ἀφῆκεν. Ἀπῆλθε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν, ἵνα τὸ φρούριον ἦν τῶν Περσῶν καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἰσχυρὸν τὸ χωρίον· ὑπερυψηλον τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἀπότομον πάντη καὶ τριπλῷ τείχει ἐστεφανωμένον· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τὰ τε εἰκοδομήσειν Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐνόησε καὶ βωμὸν ἱδρύσασθαι. Σεσωσῶσι δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἄκρας ὑπερ ἀνιτρόπαστον χωρίον, ὅθεν ἐτοίμη ἐξαίφνης χύμασι ἐπιγίγνεται καὶ βρύουσι πηγαί, καὶ ὕδωρ ἐξ ἀφανοῦς πίνεται· οὗ τὰ τῶν Λυδῶν βασίλεια. Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἔδοξεν ἐκ θεοῦ σημανθῆναι ἵνα χρὴ εἰκοδομεῖσθαι τῷ Διὶ τὸν νεών, καὶ οὕτως ἐκέλευσε. Κατέλιπε δὲ τῆς μὲν ἄκρας τῆς Σαρδέων ἐπιμελητὴν Παυσανίαν τῶν ἑταίρων· τὸν δὲ φόρον τῆς συντάξεως τε καὶ ἀνοφορᾶς Νικίαν Ἀσανδρου δὲ τὸν Φίλιππου Λυδίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς Σπιθριδάτου ἀρχῆς. ἔδωκε αὐτῷ ἱππέας τε καὶ ψιλοὺς ὅσοι ἱκανοὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα εἶδεσαν. Καλας δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀεροπου ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Μεμνονος ἔστειλε, ἄγοντας τούς τε Πελοποννησίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων τοὺς πολλοὺς πλὴν Ἀργείων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐν Σάρδεσι κατελείφθησαν τὴν ἄκραν φυλάξοντες.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὡς τὰ ὕστερα τῆς ἐπιπομαχίας ἐξηγγέλθη, οἵ τε τὴν Ἔφεσον φρουροῦντες μισθοφόροι φύγοντο φεύγοντες, ὅσοι τριήρεις τῶν Ἐφεσίων λαβόντες, καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀντιόχου, ὃς ἔφυγεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας Ἀλεξάνδρου, παθὼν μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου, δυσνοῶ δὲ

Mithrenes he took with him, with the honours of his rank; the Sardians and the other Lydians he permitted to follow the old Lydian customs, and sent them away free. Alexander himself ascended to the fortress where was the Persian garrison. He formed an exact opinion of the strength of the position, which was very high, sheer, and fenced all round with a triple wall. Alexander also decided to build a temple on the height to Olympian Zeus, and to set up an altar there. But as he was surveying the height for the best place, suddenly, it was summer-time, there broke a storm with heavy crashes of thunder and violent rain just over the palace of the Lydian kings. From this Alexander supposed that there was a divine intimation where he must build the temple to Zeus, and he gave orders accordingly. He left as commandant of the fortress Pausanias, a Companion; Nicias became overseer of the taxes, contributions and tribute; and Asander son of Philotas governor of Lydia and the rest of Spithridates' domain, and to him he gave cavalry and light troops sufficient for present needs. Calas and Alexander son of Aeropus he sent to Memnon's country with the Peloponnesians and the greater part of the allies except the Argives; they were left to keep guard over the fortress.

9 Meanwhile, when the news of the cavalry engagement came through, the mercenaries in garrison at Ephesus fled with two Ephesian triremes, taking with them Amyntas son of Antiochus, who had run away from Macedon to avoid Alexander — not that Alexander had done him any harm, but from a

τῷ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνεψιόν τε
ταφεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔχαρι. Τεταρτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς
Ἔφεσον ἀφικόμενος τοὺς τε φυγάδας ἔσωσε δι'
αὐτῶν ἐξέπεσον τὴν πολιτείαν κατήγαγε, καὶ τὴν
ὀλιγαρχίαν κατέλυσε δημοκρατίαν κατέστησε
τοὺς δὲ φόρους ἔσους τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀνέφερον
11 τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ξυντελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ
τῶν Ἐφεσίων, ὡς ὠφεληθῇ αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν
ὀλίγων φυγῇ, τούς τε Μεμνονα ἐπαγαγομένους
καὶ τοὺς τὸ ἱερὸν συλήσαντας τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ
τοὺς τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ Φιλίππου τὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
καταβαλόντας καὶ τὸν ταφὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς
ἀνορύξαντας τὸν Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ ἐλευθερώσαντος
12 τὴν πόλιν, ὥρμησεν ἀποκτεῖναι. Καὶ Συρφακα
μὲν καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Πελαγοντα καὶ τοὺς
τῶν ἀδελφῶν τοῦ Συρφακα παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ
ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκέλευ-
λευσεν Ἀλεξάνδρου πρόσωπον ἐνιζηνεῖν καὶ
τιμωρεῖσθαι, γνοὺς ὅτι ὁμοῦ τοῖς αἰτίοις καὶ οὐ
ξὺν δίκῃ τινας, τοὺς μὲν κατ' ἔχθραν, τοὺς δὲ
κατὰ ἀργυρίου χρήματων ἀπαιτησει, ξυγχωρήθη
13 αὐτῷ, ὁ δῆμος. Καὶ εἰ δή τῳ ἄλλῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἐν
Ἐφέσῳ πραχθεῖσιν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῷ τότε
εὐδοκιμεῖ.

XVIII Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Μαγνησίων τε καὶ
Τραλλέων παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκον ἐκδίκους τὰς πόλεις
καὶ δὴ καὶ Παρμενίωνα, ὃν αὐτῷ διαχιλίους
καὶ πεντακοσίους πεζοὺς τῶν ξένων καὶ Μακε-
δόνας παρασκηνίους ἱππέας δὲ τῶν ἑταίρων ἐξ
διακοσίους. Ἀλκιμαχον δὲ τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέους
ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰολίδας τε πόλεις ξὺν δυνάμει οἵᾳ
ἐλαττουν ἐξέπεμψε καὶ ὅσας Ἰωνίας ὑπὸ τοῖς

general dislike towards Alexander and a disinclination to undergo any disagreeable discomfort at his hands. Alexander reached Ephesus on the fourth day, brought back any exiles who had been turned out of the city on his account, and breaking up the oligarchy restored the democracy; he also bade them contribute to the Temple of Artemis such taxes as they had been paying to the Persians. So the Ephesian people, being now relieved from fear of the oligarchs, promptly put to death all those who had called in Memnon, those who had ransacked the Temple of Artemis, and those who had thrown down the statue of Philip in the Temple and had dug up in the market-place the tomb of Heropythes the liberator of the city. Syrphax, his son Pelagon, and the children of the brothers of Syrphax they drew forth from the temple and stoned; but Alexander prevented further inquisition or punishment, knowing that once permission was given the people would put to death, together with the guilty, certain others, some from hatred, and some for plunder of their goods. Seldom did Alexander win greater popularity than he did by his treatment of Ephesus.

XVIII. About this time came representatives of Magnesia and Tralles to Alexander to hand over their cities, so he sent Parmenio with 2500 allied infantry and as many Macedonians, and 200 territorial horse. He sent also Alkimachus son of Agathocles, with an equal force, to the Aeolian cities and to any Ionian towns still subject to Persia.

2 βαρβάρους ὅτι ἥκοιεν. Καὶ τὰς μὲν ὀλιγαρχίας παντάχοῦ κατέλυσεν, δημοκρατίας δὲ[1] ἐγκαθίστασθαι καὶ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς σφῶν ἑκάστοις ἀποδοὺς, καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀντὶνα ὅσους τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνέφερον. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπομένων ἐν Ἐφέσῳ θυσίας τε ἄγων τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ πομπὴν ἔστεμψε ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πᾶσαν κατὰ κόσμον τε καὶ ὡς ἐς μάχην ξυντεταγμένην.

3 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν τε τοξότων τοὺς λοιποὺς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων τὴν τε βασιλικὴν Ἴλην καὶ τρεῖς ταύτῃ τρεῖς ἄλλας ἐπὶ Μίλητον ἐστέλλετο· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐξω καλουμένην πολιν ἐξ εφόδου ἑλὼν ἐκλιπούσης τὴν φυλακὴν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ καταστρατοπεδεύσας ἤγεν ἀποτει-
4 χίζων τὴν εἴσω πολιν. Ἡγησιστράτου γὰρ, ὅστις ἦν φρούρα ἡ Μιλησίων ἐν βασιλέως ἐστέστραπτο, τροσθεν γράμματα παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκέμενεν ἐνδίδοντα τὴν Μίλητον· τότε δὲ ἀναθαρρήσας ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ οὐ μακρὰν ὄντι, διασωζειν τοὺς Περσας ἔπεφνε τὴν πολιν. Νικάνωρ δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ναυτικὸν ἄγων ὑποφθάνει τοὺς Πέρσας τρισὶν ἡμέραις πρότερος κατασκευασας ἡ τοὺς Πέρσας Μίλητῳ προσσχεῖν· καὶ ὁρμίζεται ναυσὶν ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Λάδῃ κειτας
5 δὲ αὐτὴ ὀλίγῳ ὑπὲρ τῆ Μιλήτῳ. Αἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν νῆες ὑστέρησαν, ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθον οἱ ναύαρχοι τῶν ἀμφὶ Νικάνορα τὴν ἐν τῇ Λάδῃ προσκαταστᾶσαν, πρὸς τῇ Μυκάλῃ τῇ ὄρει ὡρμίσθησαν. Τὴν γὰρ Λάδην τὴν νῆσον προκατειλήφει Ἀλεξάνδρου, οὐ τῶν πεζῶν μόνων τῇ ἐπιθορμίσει, ἀλλὰ

[1] δὲ in Codices. Krueger delendum vs.

He ordered the oligarchies everywhere to be broken up, democracies to be established, each to have their own laws and to continue paying the same taxes as they had paid to the Persians. Alexander himself remained in Ephesus and sacrificed to Artemis and held a great procession with his troops armed cap-à-pie in full battle order.

Next day he took the remainder of the infantry and the archers and the Agrianes, with the Thracian horse, and the royal squadron of territorial cavalry, and three squadrons besides, and marched against Miletus. He captured in his stride what they called the Outer City, for the garrison had retired—and camping there he decided to invest the Inner City. For Hegesistratus, commandant, under Darius, of the Milesian garrison, had anticipated matters by sending a letter to Alexander surrendering the city, but then, taking heart again, because the Persian force was no distance away, schemed to save the city for Persia. Nicanor, however, bringing up the Greek fleet, reached Miletus three days ahead of the Persians, and anchored at the island of Lade with 160 ships. Lade is over against Miletus. The Persian fleet were too late, and when their commanders learnt of Nicanor's arrival already at Lade, they anchored under Mount Mycale. For Alexander had by seizing Lade forestalled them, not only by anchoring his fleet there, but also by transporting

καὶ τοὺς Θρᾷκας καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ξύμπαν ὅσον τε τεσσαράκοντα
σταδίους διαστάσας τε αὐτοῦ. Ἦσαν δὲ τοῦ
βαθέος αἱ πλεῖσται ἀμφὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας.

6 Παρμενίωνα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐκ τούτου Ἀλεξάνδρου ταττόμενον τὰ τε ἄλλα πράγματα τῷ στρατῷ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέτρεπε καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Θρᾷκας ἐκπορείαν αὐτὸν ἐποιεῖτο· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἐκπορευομένου ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἦσαν. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ναυσὶν οὐ μεγάλαις διαβεβήκεσθαι ἐς τὰ ἄλλα, πεφεύγει δὲ οὐ πάνυ μακρὰν ἐκ τοῦ στενοῦ καὶ ἐς γῆν θαλαττεύματος τοῦτο Πόντου. Καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ ἔφη ἐπιδεῖν ἄκρον τὸν πρὸς τοῦ 7 πόντου καὶ τοῦ εὐξείνου μυχόν. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τῇ τε γνώμῃ ἀρεσκομένου ἔφη Παρμενίωνα καὶ τοῦ σώματος τῇ εὐεξίᾳ τὰ ἄλλα ξυμβῆναι· ἁλίσκεσθαι γὰρ πάνυ πρὸς πολλῶν ἁλισκομένων ξὺν αὐτοῖς λογισμῷ πανυστάτων καὶ οὐ μαλθακῶς τῷ σώματι πρὸς φύσιν· 8 τὰ τῶν Κυπρίων τε καὶ Φοινίκων τὸν τε ἱππικὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τὸν τοξικὸν δι' ἐπιτηδείων χωρίων[1] σὺν θέλοντι παραδοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ ἐντυθέντι τῇ παρασκευῇ οὐ μακρὰν τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔσεσθαι δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὸν τρόπον δοῦναι, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πορεύσιμον τῶν τοῦ πολεμίου στόματος τὸν ἐξαγγελίαν 9 ἀναδῆσαι. Ταῦτα μὲν τῷ λογισμῷ ξυνιέναι ὡς τὸ κοῖλον ἀσφαλὲς παρασκευῇ τὸ θεῖον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄλλῃ ἐξηγεῖσθαι· εἶναι μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄστεος, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρωρείας

[1] προσεπιτιθέναι Cobet. Rectius opus corruptum.
[2] Κύπρου Δοκίμου χωρου.

thither the Thracians and about 4000 of the other mercenaries. The Persian fleet was of about 400 sail.

Parmenio, notwithstanding, urged Alexander to attack, both because he expected the Greeks to win, and because of an omen; there had been seen an eagle perching on the shore astern of Alexander's vessels. If they won, he argued, it would be a great help to the expedition generally; a defeat would not be very serious; for even as things were the Persians held the supremacy at sea. He said that he was willing to embark himself and share all perils. Alexander, however, said that Parmenio's judgment was at fault, his interpretation of the omen not less so; it would be lunacy to fight a much greater fleet with an inferior one, and face the trained crews of the Cyprians and Phoenicians with his own, who had not yet completed their nautical exercises. He would not risk sacrificing the skill and courage of his Macedonians on so uncertain an element to the Persians; should they lose the engagement it would be a serious blow to their former warlike prestige, with the Greeks also ready to blaze into revolt at the first whisper of a naval defeat. Arguing thus he made clear that it was no time to fight, and declared that he interpreted the omen differently, for the eagle was indeed on his own side; but, since

ἐβούλοντο. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι οὐ μάλιστα τὸ σημαινόμενον ἔτι ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ τοῦ Περσικοῦ κειμένου.

XIX Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Πλανούσιος ἀνὴρ τῶν ἑταίρων ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἀπεστάλη παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τε καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων οἳ μάλιστα τὸ ἐπιτήδειον ἦσαν τῇ πόλει, τὸ τε τεῖχος ἔφη θέλειν τοὺς Μιλησίους καὶ τοὺς λιμένας παραχωρεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Περσικοῖς καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ τούτου λώιον ἔσεσθαι. 2 Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ Πλανούσιος μὲν προσέταξε ἀπαλλαττόμενος κατὰ τάχος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ Μιλησίους ἐπαγγέλλειν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μαχουμένους ἄνδρας. Λυτὸς δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τείχει μηχανὰς καὶ τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα ἐς αὐτὸν τοῦ τείχους τὰ δὲ κατασκοπὴν ἐποιεῖτο τῆς πόλεως ὅπῃ προσπεσὼν ἡ στρατιὰ ἐξαίφνης ἐπιτηδειοτάτη ἢ κατειλήφοιτο τὸ τεῖχος· ἐφαίνοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ναῦται τῶν Περσῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Μυκάλης πολεμιώτατοι τοῖς φίλοις ἔφασαν καὶ ξυμμαχοῦντες. 3 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ Νικάνορα ἀπὸ τῆς Λάδης τὸν ὅρμον τῶν ξυν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κατέβαινον ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἐντὸς τοῦ Μυκάλης. παρὰ γὰρ τὸν αὐτόθι πυλῶνα, καὶ κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ἦν τὸ στενότατον ἐν ἀντιπρώροις βύζην τε τριήρεις ὁρμισάντες ἀποκλείουσιν τὸ μὲν Περσικὸν ναυτικὸν τοῦ λιμένος, τοὺς Μιλησίους δὲ τῆς ἐς τὸν Περσῶν σφίσιν ἐπιβολῆς. 4 Ἐνθα οἱ Μιλήσιοι τε καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι, ναυτικοῦ ὄχλου προσεπιόντος σφίσι τῶν Μακεδόνων, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν σφᾶς δὲ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἔτι τῶν ἀντιπάλων ὑπόντων ἐς πολλὰ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων, τῇ πόλει ἐπεκράτησαν, διωκόντων, οἱ δὲ

it was seen sitting on the land, it meant (he thought) that he would beat the Persian fleet from the land.

XIX Meanwhile, Glaucippus, one of the notables of Miletus, was sent to Alexander by the people and the mercenaries, to whose care the city was chiefly entrusted, and declared that the citizens were prepared to open their walls and harbours to Alexander and the Persians in common, and he demanded on these stipulations that he should raise the siege. Alexander, however, bade Glaucippus to be gone with all speed to the city and tell the citizens to be ready to fight at dawn. He personally saw to engines being set against the walls, and, partly by bombarding the wall at close quarters, and partly by battering it over a great distance, he brought up his force to be ready to rush in wherever the wall was breached or shaken. The Persians from Mycale were close by, and almost beheld their friends and allies under siege.

But now Nicanor's fleet from Lade sighted Alexander's attack, and sailed into the harbour of Miletus, rowing along the coast, and, jamming their triremes, bows seaward, at the narrowest part of the entrance had bottled up the harbour against the Persian fleet, and cut off Persian help for Miletus. Thereon the Milesians and the mercenaries, hard pressed on all sides by the Macedonians, some threw themselves into the sea and using their shields as coracles paddled over to a little nameless island

[illegible]

near the city, others got into pinnaces and hurrying to get in front of the Macedonian triremes were caught by them at the harbour entrance, but the greater number perished in the city itself

Alexander, the city being now in hand, sailed off against those who had fled to the islet, ordering ladders to be brought to the bows of the triremes so as to disembark from the ships on the cliffs of the islands as if on a city wall. But seeing that those on the island were going to fight to the death, he felt compassion for them, as noble and loyal soldiers, and made terms with them that they should join his forces; there were about 300 of these Greek mercenaries. The Milesians themselves, save such as fell at the final assault, he dismissed with their freedom.

The Persians using Mycale as a base by day-time used to sail towards the Greek navy, hoping to provoke an engagement, but at night they did not ride in comfort at Mycale, because they were obliged to get water from the mouths of the Maeander, some way off. Alexander with his fleet guarded the harbour of Miletus, that the Persians might not force the entrance, but he sent Philotas to Mycale with the cavalry and three columns of infantry, bidding him hinder the Persians from disembarking. So they, from want of water and other things, were as good as besieged in their ships, and sailed off to Samos; provisioning there, they made for Miletus

9 Μίλητ. Καὶ τὰς μὲν πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος ἐν μετεώρῳ παρεταξαν, αἱ μὴ ἐκπλεύσειαν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος τοὺς Μακεδόνας· πέντε δὲ αὐτῶν ἐσεπλεύσαν αἱ τὸν μεταξὺ τῆς τε λίθου ἔηνου καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου λιμένα, ἔλπισαντες κενὰς καταληφθήσεσθαι τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου ναῦς, ὅτι τοὺς πάντας ἀποπεπλευκότας τε πολὺ ἄπω τῶν νεῶν τοῦτο μὲν ὑπὸ φρυγανισμοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ ὑπὸ ξυγκομιδῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς πρω-
10 νομὰς τεττραμένους, ἐπενεμοῦντο ἤσαν. Ἀλλὰ μέρος μέν τι αὐτῶν τῶν ναυτῶν ἐν δὲ τῶν παρόντων ξυμπληρώσας Ἀλεξάνδρου δεκὰς ναῦς ὡς προσέλεουσας τὰς πέντε τῶν Περσῶν κατεῖδε, τεσσαρσὶ μὲν αὐτὰς κατὰ στόμα, ἐμβόλοις ἀντιπρῴροις κελεύσας· Οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς πέντε νηυσὶ τῶν Περσῶν, ὡς παρ' ἐλπίδα ἀναχθέντας τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶδον ὑποστρέφαντας ἐς
11 πολλοῦ δέους ἦσαν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικόν. Καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἰασσέων ναῦς ἁλίσκεται αὐτοῖς αὐθρώπων ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, οὐ ταχυναυτοῦσα, αἱ δὲ τέσσαρες ἐφθασαν καταφυγοῦσαι εἰς τὰς πλησίας τριήρεις. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἀπέλεσαν ἄνδρες ἐς Μίλητον οἱ Πέρσαι.

XX Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καταλύσας ἔηνον τὸ ναυτικὸν χρημάτων τε ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ἅμα οὐκ ἀξιομάχου ὁρῶν τὸ αὐτοῦ ναυτικὸν τῷ Περσικῷ, οὐκέτι ἐθέλων μέρει τινὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς κινδυνεύειν· Ἄλλως τε ἐπιόντος, ἐπέχων ἤδη τὴν παλαιὰν τὴν Ἀσσίαν, ὅτι οὔτε ναυτικοῦ ὅτι δέοιτο, τάς τε παραλίους πόλεις λαβὼν κατὰ γῆν τὸ Περσῶν ναυτικὸν, οὔτε ὁπόθεν τὰς ὑπηρεσίας συμπληρώσουσιν αὐτῷ ἔτι τῆς Ἀσσίας

again. The mass of their vessels they drew up in line out at sea opposite the harbour, hoping to provoke the Macedonians to action in the open, but five ships slipped into the harbour between Lade and the camp, hoping to capture Alexander's ships unmanned, having learned that the crews had for the most part scattered, some to fuel, some to convoy stores, and some detailed for foraging. There was indeed a certain number away from the ships, but Alexander manned ten ships with the available hands, and when he sighted the five Persian ships bearing down, sent these to meet them at full speed with orders to ram. The crews of the five Persian ships, seeing the Macedonians making for them (the last thing they expected), doubled back, while still at safe distance, and joined the main fleet. One ship (manned by Iassians) was captured with its crew in the retreat, being a slow sailer, the other four got safe to their own triremes. Thus the Persians left Miletus with nothing done.

XX. Alexander now decided to disband his navy, both from want of money at the time and also perceiving that his fleet could not face an action with the Persian navy, he had no intention to risk disaster with even a portion of his armament. Further, he reflected that as he now held Asia with his land troops, he no longer needed a navy, and that by capturing the Persian coast bases he would break up their fleet, since they would have nowhere to make up their crews from; and, in fact, no seaport

προσέβαινον ἄγοντας. Καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον συνελάμβανον ὅτι ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐφορήσων τὰ ἐκείνων.

3 Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ Κάσιας ἐπέβαλλετο, ὅτι ἐν Ἀλισαρναεῦσι συνεστήκεσαν οὐ φαύλῃ δυνάμει τοῦ τε βαρβάρου καὶ ξένου ἐξηγγέλλετο. Ὁδὸς δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν πόλιν Μιλήτου τε καὶ Ἀλισαρνασσοῦ ταύτας ἐξ ἴσου λαμβάνουσι κατατετραπεῖσθαι πρὸς Ἀλισαρναεῦσιν· ἔστιν γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ἐν στενῷ μαλιστα σταδίους, ὡς ἐπὶ 2 χῶμα πολιορκίᾳ. Ἡ τε γὰρ φύσις τοῦ χωρίου ἐξ ὄρους ἀνεῖται αὐτὸ καὶ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκβλὺς ἐς πρὸς ἀφοβίαν τιθέασιν, ξυνέντα ταῦτα Μένων τε αὐτὸς παρὼν ἤδη ἀπολελοιπὼς πρὸς Δαρεῖον τήν τε κάτω Ἀσίαν καὶ τοῦ πεδιάδος πάντος ἥκοντος ἐς πολλοῦ παρασκευήν, καὶ στρατιῶται πολλοὶ μὲν ξένοι μισθοφόροι ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγκατελήφθησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ Περσῶν αὐτῶν αἱ τε τριήρεις ἐφορμοῦντ[1] τῷ λιμένι, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τούτου πολλὴν ἀφέλειαν γίγνεσθαι ἐς τὰ ἔργα.

4 Τῇ μὲν δὴ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ προσαγαγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ τείχει κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ Μίλητον φερούσας πύλας διέβη τε γεγυμνωμένον τὸν ἐν τῇ τάφρῳ καὶ ἀκροβολισμοὺς καὶ τοξεύσεις οὐ χαλεπὰς προσέβαλλον τε οἱ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀντεπερρώοντες καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατεκλῄοντο.

5 Τῇ πύλαις δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναλαβὼν τούς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἑταίρων ἵππον καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου τε καὶ Περδίκκου καὶ Μελεάγρου τάξιν τὴν τοξικὴν καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας, περιελθὼν

[1] ἐφόρμουν A[1] and other MSS. B read ἐφορμοῦντο.

in Asia. Thus he took the eagle to mean that he should conquer the ships from dry land.

When he had settled this he marched towards Caria, having had reports that a considerable force of Persians and mercenaries had assembled at Halicarnassus. Such cities as lie between Miletus and Halicarnassus he captured on the march, and then encamped against Halicarnassus, at five stades distance, settling down for a long siege. For the position of the place made it very strong, and if anything was needed to strengthen it, Memnon had personally seen to this long ago; from the moment he was marked out by Darius for command of all lower Asia and of the whole fleet; a large force of mercenaries had been left in the city, with many Persians also; the triremes guarded the harbour, so that the sailors too lent much assistance.

On the first day it fell out that as Alexander was approaching the wall near the gates leading to Mylasa there was a sally from the city and volleys at safe distance; this attack Alexander's troops had no difficulty in driving back by a counter sally, and also safely shut up the attacking party in their walls again.

A few days later Alexander led off his guards, the territorial cavalry, and the infantry battalion of Amyntas, Perdiccas, and Meleager, with the archers and the Agrianes, and went round the city to the

τῆς πόλεως τὸ πρὸς Μινύου μέρος, τό τε τεῖχος κατεσφόμενον, οἱ ταύτῃ ἐπιμαχώτερον τιγγάνον ἐδόκει τῆς προσβολῆς εἶναι καὶ ἅμα ἐκ τῶν Μινύου ἐξ ἐνεδρομῆς δύνασθαι λαθόντας κατασχεῖν ἐνόμιζον· τὴν γὰρ οὐ σμικρὰν τῆς ἀφελείας ἐς τὴν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας πολιορκίαν τὴν Μινύου πᾶσαν ξυνομένην· καὶ τι καὶ ἐπεδείκνυτο αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν Μινύου, αἱ λαθραῖαι νυκτὸς προσελθοῦσαι. Αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα ἅμα μέσαις νυξὶ προσῆλθε τῷ τείχει καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεβιβάσθη ἅμα τῶν ἑπτὰ, αἱ τε μηχαναὶ καὶ οἱ ἀλίσκεσθαι αὐτῷ οὐ παρῆσαν, εἰδὼς ἐν ᾧ ἀπὸ πολιορκίας στρατεύεται, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ ἐπιλειπούσῃ τῇ πόλει, προσιὼν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων τῶν φαλαγγῶν ὑπορρηγνύειν πόλεως τὸ τεῖχος. Καὶ ἅμα τε πύργου κατέβαινον οἱ Μακεδόνες οὐ μετὰ ἡσυχίας ἐπιόντες τε τὸ τεῖχος ἔσεσαν καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἅμα τύπτοντες ἀπετόμοντο καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ θάλασσαν πολλοὶ ἤδη παραπλεύσαντες ἄνδρες ἐπῆσαν τῷ Ἀλεξιάρχῳ τῆς αὐτομολίας τε καὶ ἐξ ἐνεδρομῆς κατάληψιν τῆς Μινύου. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἐκράτησεν Ἀλεξάνδρου σὺν τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ ἅπασα ὁρμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιορκία τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας αἰδοῖ παρέσχε.

Καὶ τὰ πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τοφρου, ἣ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὀρώρυκτο αὐτοῖς, πλάτος μὲν πλεθρικὸν μάλιστα ἦν τὸ εὖρος βάθος δὲ ἐς πεντεκαιδέκα, ἐλέγετο, τοῦ ῥᾴστον εἶναι τὴν προσαγωγὴν τῶν τε πύργων, ἀφ' ὧν ἔμελλε τοὺς ἀμυνομένους ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἐκβιβάσεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηχανῶν αἷς κατασκάψειν ἔσεσθαι τὸ τεῖχος. Καὶ ἡ τε τοφρος αὐτῷ ἐχώσθη οὐ

side that lay Myndus-ward; his idea was to reconnoitre the wall in case it should prove more open to an assault there, and also to see if perhaps he could capture Myndus by a sudden raid The capture of Myndus, he thought, would be a great help to a siege of Halicarnassus. A proposal of surrender had been received from Myndus, provided he could arrive there by night. He therefore approached Myndus about midnight, as agreed; but there was no sign of surrender, his engines and ladders he had left behind—naturally enough, since he had not come to besiege, but to receive a treacherous surrender of the city None the less he brought up the Macedonian phalanx with orders to sap the wall. One tower they did throw down, yet in its fall it did not strip the wall; the defenders stoutly resisted, and numerous troops by this time had sailed up from Halicarnassus and prevented Alexander from rushing the capture of Myndus. So Alexander retreated with this project a failure, and he kept once more to the siege of Halicarnassus.

First he filled level the moat which they had dug before the city, about 30 cubits broad and 15 deep; this was to facilitate the approach of the towers, from which he intended to bombard by volleys of missiles the defenders of the wall, as also of the other engines intended to batter the walls. The ditch was

χαλεπῶς καὶ αἱ πύργοι προσήγοντο ἤδη. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ νυκτὸς ἐκδραμοντες, ὡς ἐμπρήσαι τοὺς τε πύργους καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μηχαναὶ προσηγμέναι ἢ οὐ πορρω τοῦ προσάγεσθαι ἦσαν, ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων τε τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ ὅσοι ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐξεγερθέντες παρεβοηθησαν οὐ χαλεπῶς κατεκλείσθησαν ἐς τὰ τείχη αὖθις. Καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἄλλοι τε ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἕκατον καὶ Νικοστρατος ὁ Ἀργαῖος, τοῦ Ἀμύντου ἀδελφος, τῶν παρὰ Δαρείου αὐτομολησάντων. Τῶν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιωτῶν ἀπέθανον μὲν ἐς ἑξηκοντα, τραύματα δὲ ἔσχοντο ἐς τριακοσίους, ὅτι ἐν νυκτὶ γενομένῃ τῆς ἐκδρομῆς ἀφυλακτότεροι ἐς τὸ τετρῶσθαι ἦσαν.

XXI Οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ἡμέραις ὕστερον δύο τῶν Μακεδόνων ἑπλίτας ἐκ τῆς Περδίκκου ταξεως, ξυσκηνοίντέ τε καὶ ἅμα ξυμπίνοντες, αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἑκατερος ὅτι μεγα τῷ λογῳ ἦγεν. Ἔνθα δὴ φιλοτιμια τε ἐστιγνει αὐτοῖς, καὶ τι καὶ ὁ οἶνος ὑποθέρμαινεν, ὥστε στλεγαμενοι αὐτοὶ ἐπ' ἀφῶν προσβαλλουσι τῷ τειχει κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν πρὸς Μυλασα μαλιστα τετραμμενην, ὡς ἐπιδειξιν τῆς ἀφῶν ῥωμης μᾶλλόν τι ἢ πρὸς πολεμιους μετὰ κινδυνου τον ἀγωνα ποιησομενοι. Καὶ τουτους κατιδοντες τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς πολεως δύο τε ὄντας καὶ οὐ ξὺν λογισμῷ προσφερομενους τῷ τειχει ἐπεισθεουσιν. Οἱ δὲ τους μὲν ἐγγυς πελασαντας ἀπεκτειναν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀφεστηκοτας ἠκροβολιζοντο, πλεονεκτουμενοι τῷ τε πληθει καὶ τοῦ χωριου τῇ χαλεποτητι, ὅτι ἐξ ὑπερδεξιου τοῖς πολεμιοις ἡ ἐπιδρομή τε καὶ ἡ

filled up without difficulty and the towers soon were brought up. The Halicarnassians, however, made a night sally, to burn the towers and the other engines which had been brought up, or were in position shortly so to be. But the attackers were easily enclosed again in their city walls by the Macedonian guards and others who, waking up in the course of the action, rushed to their help. The city lost 170 men, including Neoptolemus son of Arrabaeus, brother of Amyntas, one of those who had deserted to Darius; of Alexander's troops there fell about sixteen, but three hundred were wounded, since—the sally being at night—they were less protected against wounds.

XXI Not many days after, two Macedonian men-at-arms of Perdiccas' battalion, bivouacked together and drinking together, were each exalting his own prowess and deeds; rivalry arose, assisted by the heating fumes of wine, so they armed themselves and attacked the wall by the height which looks Mylasa way; their idea being to exhibit their strength rather than to force a perilous encounter with the enemy. Some in the city sighted the rash pair approaching the wall, and made a dash out upon them, slaying both these two men, who were close up, and showering volleys on the more distant troops, confident in their number and in the difficulty of the ground, since the Halicarnassians had the advantage of height for their charge and

3 ἀπροβλήτους ἔχοντες. Καὶ οἱ τοῦτο ἀντεβόησαν τῶν καὶ ἄλλων τῶν τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἄλλοι καὶ ξυνετίτων μᾶλλον ἐφόρουν τὸν τοῖχον. Καὶ καταλαμβάνεται αἰδὼς τῶν τοῦ Μακεδόνων ἄλλων τῶν τοῦτον ἐν ἐναντίοις ἔχοντες. Πλὴν οὐτοῦ
4 δὲ ἄλλοι καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἐπὶ τοῖχον. Τὰ τε γὰρ τοῖχη ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ ἐν ταῖς φύλαξι ἦν καὶ ἐν τοῦτον καὶ μετεστήκεσαν οἱ βέλη ἀφεῖσαν καταστρατηγοῦντα ἐς χαλκὸν ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, οἱ ἀνατεῖ τρωσιφόρτα τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐς τὸ τοῖχος τοξεύειν τοξεύειν. Καὶ ἐ τοῦτον τοῖχον καταστασιάσαντες αὐτὸ οἱ τοῦ χαλκοῦ ἐν τοῦ πρώτου ἐπιφανεστάτου ἄλλα ἐφόρουν τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦτον τοῖχον ἐκαθέν τοῦτον ἐπιτυχόντες ἀνταναβαίνοντας ἐν χαλκοῦ, τοῦ τοξεύειν.
5 Καὶ τοῦτο ἔτυχε τῷ στρατεύματι τῷ μεγάλου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἐκλιπὸν αἴσχος φυγὴν τοῦ ἐν τῷ τοῖχον ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τοῦ μεγάλου. Καὶ μᾶλλον μὲν τι τοῦ τοῖχου τοῦ τοῖχου τοῦτον καὶ τοῦ τοῦ τοῦτον τοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ τοῦτον τοῦτον, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐκφεύγοντα ἐν τῷ Φιλίππου τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῷ φύλακι αὐτοῦ ἐπιτυχόντα ἐν ἐκ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπιφανεστάτου ἐν τῷ ἐκείνου τοῦ τε ἄλλου ἄλλοι ἔχοντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐκείνου ἐκφεύγοντα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐν τοῦτον ἐκείνου μᾶλλον τοῦ τοῦ
6 τοῦ ἐκφεύγου. Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἐν τοῦτον τῷ φύλακι τοῦ τοῦ χαλκοῦ ἐκπεφεύγοντα ἐκ τοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ ἐν αὐτὸ μετεστὼς μᾶλλον ἐκφεύγοντα ἐν τοῦ ἐκείνου τοῦ τοῦτον τῶν μεγάλου ἄλλα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοῦτον, οἱ δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἐκφεύγοντα τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκπεφεύγοντα ἐκ τοῦτον τοῦ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν αὐτὸ

their volleys. On this more of Perdiccas' men hurried up, and others from the city too, and a stiff fight raged about the wall. Once more the Macedonians drove the sallying force back into the city, and indeed the City was not far from being captured. For the walls were not then carefully guarded, and as two towers and one intervening curtain had fallen, the approach to the wall had become easy for the army, had they all attacked together. The third tower, moreover, had been badly shaken, and if undermined would easily have been brought down, but the besieged had smartly built out opposite the breach from within a crescent-shaped brick wall, and as they had plenty of builders, they did so with ease.

Alexander next day brought up his engines against this wall, promptly a sally was made to burn them. Part of the fence of mantlets near the walls and one of the wooden towers were burnt; the rest was saved by Philotas and Hellanicus and their men, who were entrusted with the care of them. But when Alexander also appeared in the assault, they threw away the torches with which they had rushed out, and most cast away their arms and made within the wall. Yet at first, from the position, which was commanding, the besieged had the best of it, and did not only volley straight ahead along their line at the advance guard of the engines, but also from the towers left standing on either side of the breach, which enabled them to volley on the flanks,

αὐτοῦ παρείχου διαβαλίζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς τῷ δεκαπεδιαίῳ τοῦ τείχους προσιόντας

XXII Οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ὑστέρῳ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνέῳγον αὐθις Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰς μηχανὰς τῷ πλινθίνῳ τῷ ἄνω τοῦ τείχους καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφεστηκότος τῷ ἔργῳ, διάβασιν γίγνεσθαι ἐς τὴν πόλιν τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἐπιπεμπόμενον τεῖχος, ᾗ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξάνδρος ἐπίστατο, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸ Τριπύλιον, ᾗ καὶ πάνυ τι προσδεχομένοις τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἦν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνω τοῦ τείχους τοῖς μηχανικοῖς ἐπιβαλλόντων καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐς τὸ ἐξαίφνης τε φλέγειν καὶ ἐπὶ μακρὸν προσκαλεσασθαι τῶν δὲ ἀμφ' Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτῶν τε ἐμβαλλόντων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐρωμένους καὶ ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἄνω τῶν ἐπιόντων λίθων τε μεγάλων ἀφιεμένων καὶ βελῶν ἐξαιετιζομένων, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεστράφησαν τε καὶ ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Καὶ φασιν ταύτῃ οὐκ ὀλίγους ἁλῶναι, ἔφῳ πλησιάσαι τε καὶ ξὺν μάζονι τῇ τάλαντα ἐξιέρασαν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἱ χεῖρας ἐνθέντες τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἀνεῴγουσι τὰ ἐμφὶ τῷ τείχει τῷ κατεστεῶτι, στενοτέρας τε ἢ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν τὴν παρόδον οὔσης καὶ τῶν καταρραμμένων τοῦ τείχους χαλεπὴν τὴν ὑπερβασιν αὐτοῖς παρεχόντων.

Τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὸ Τριπύλιον διέβησαν ἄνυδρον Πτολεμαῖος ὁ σωματοφύλαξ ὁ Λαγίδου τήν τε Ἀδδαίων καὶ Τιμανδρου ἅμα οἱ τάξει ἄγων καὶ ἵππου οὐ τῶν φίλων καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ χαλεπῶς ἀνήνυστο τοὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως. Συνῆγε δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν κατὰ στενὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ πεποιημένην φθείρουσί τε τὴν γέφυραν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ πλήθους ξυντρίψαι καὶ πολ-

and almost at the rear, of those who approached the new-built wall.

XXII. A few days afterwards Alexander again brought up his engines to the inner brick wall, taking charge of operations himself, and there was a sally in full force, some of the enemy attacked near the breach, where Alexander was, others at the triple gate, the last place the Macedonians looked for a sally. Some flung torches at the siege engines, and anything else which might light a flame and spread it to the utmost, but Alexander's immediate supports counter-attacked vigorously; large stones were hurled by the engines from the towers, bullets were showered in volleys, and the besieged were fairly easily repulsed and fled back to the city. They suffered a good deal of loss, proportionate to the number of the attackers and the boldness of their sally. Some fell in hand-to-hand fight with the Macedonians, others about the fallen wall, the passage being too narrow to admit such a number and the fallen parts of the wall making it difficult to pass over them.

As for those who sallied by the triple gate, Ptolemaeus, captain of the bodyguard of Alexander, met them, bringing up the battalions of Addaeus and Timander, and some of the light troops: these too fairly easily drove back the sallying party. This also suffered in the retreat over a narrow bridge thrown over the moat; the bridge gave way under their

λοὺς αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν τάφρον ἐμπεσόντας τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ σφῶν καταπατηθέντας διαφθαρῆναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀνοδίαν ἄλλην τῶν Μακεδόνων βαλλομένους. Ὁ πλείστους δὲ φόνος παρὰ τοῖς πύλαις αὐταῖς ξυνέβη, ὅτι ἡ ξυγκλεῖσις τῶν πυλῶν φοβερά τε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ γενομένη, διαπεπτωκὸς μὴ συνεπισπέσωσιν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἔχοντες αὐτῶν οἱ Μακεδόνες, πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν φίλων τῇ εἰσόδου ἀπελείπουν, οἳ παρὰ αὐτοὺς τοῖς τείχεσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες διέφθειραν. Καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθεν ἁλῶναι ἡ πόλις, εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνεκαλέσατο τὸ στράτευμα, ὅτι διασῶσαι ἐθέλων τὴν Ἀλικαρνασσόν, εἴ τι φίλων ἐνέσθαι ἐκ τῶν Ἀλικαρνασσέων. Ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐς χιλίους, τῶν δὲ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακοσίους καὶ ἐν τούτοις Πτολεμαῖος τε ὁ σωματοφύλαξ καὶ Κλεάρχου ὁ τοξάρχης καὶ Ἀβδαῖος χιλίαρχος, οὗτοι καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶν Μακεδόνων.

XXIII Ἔνθα δὴ ξυνέβησαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν, Ὀρόντοβάτης τε καὶ Μίθρων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων γνόντες σφᾶς τὸ οὐ δυναμένους ἔτι πολὺ ἀντέχειν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ τοῦ τείχους τὸ μὲν τι κατεσκαμμένον ἤδη ὁρῶντες, τὸ δὲ κατασεσεισμένον· πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς τοῖς μὲν διαφθαρμένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τετρῶσθαι ἀπομαχνῶντας ὁρῶντες, ταῦτα ἐν νῷ λαβόντες ἀμφὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς τὸν τε ξύλινον πύργον ὃν αὐτοὶ ἀντῳκοδόμησαν τοῖς μηχανεῦσι τῶν πολεμίων ἐμπρῆσαι καὶ τὰς στέγας ἐν αἷς τὰ βέλη αὐτοῖς ἀπῆσκητο. Ἐνέβαλλον δὲ καὶ τοῖς οἰκίαις πῦρ ταῖς πλησίον τοῦ μὲ

numbers, many fell into the moat, some were trampled by their comrades, some the Macedonians shot down from above. The greatest slaughter was round about the gates themselves; for the gates were shut prematurely in panic, the defenders fearing lest the Macedonians, pressing hard upon the fugitives, might enter also; thus many friends were shut out, to be destroyed by their foes close to the walls. The city indeed came near to capture, had not Alexander sounded the retreat, desirous even now of saving Halicarnassus if the citizens would surrender without further hostility. About a thousand of these perished, of Alexander's forces about forty; among these were Ptolemaeus, captain of the bodyguard, Clearchus, in charge of the archers, Addaeus, a captain of thousand, and other Macedonians of repute.

XXIII. On this the leaders of the Persians, Orontobates and Memnon, met and decided that as things were they could not long hold out against the siege, with part of the wall gone, as they saw, and part badly shaken, many soldiers lost in the sallies, many disabled by wounds. Reviewing all this, about the second watch of the night they burned the wooden tower which they had built to oppose the enemy engines, and also their armouries. They fired as well all houses near the walls, others caught

τείχουσι· τῶν δὲ καὶ προσήψατο ἡ φλὸξ ἀπό τε τῶν στεγῶν καὶ τοῦ πυργοῦ πολλὴ ἐπισχεθεῖσα καὶ τι καὶ τοῦ ἀνέμου ταύτῃ ἐπιφέροντος· αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀρειάνησσαν ἀνεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλμακίδα ἄκραν οὕτω καλουμένην.

6 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ὡς ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλωτισάντων ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ τὸ πῦρ πολὺ καθεστὼς αὐτοῦ, καίτοι ἀμφὶ μέσας νυκτὰς ἦν τὸ γιγνόμενον, ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑξήκοντα τοὺς Μακεδόνας τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἀμπίπραντας τὴν πολιν ἐστεῖνεν, ἅσοι δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καταλαμβάνοιντο τῶν Ἀλισαρναέων, τούτους δὲ σώζειν παρηγγείλεν.

8 Ἤδη τε ἅμα ἐπέφαινε καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς ἄκρας ἃς οἱ τε Πέρσαι καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι κατειλήφεσαν, ταύτας μὲν ἀπέγνω πολιορκεῖν, τριῶν τε ἑκατοντάδων αὐτὸν ὀλίγῳ ἐσεσθαί οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὰς τῇ φύσει τῶν χωρίων καὶ οὐ παρὰ μεγα εἶναι ἐξελοντι αἱ τὴν πολιν ἤδη πᾶσαν. Θώψαν δὲ τοὺς ἀποβαίνοντας ἐν τῇ νυκτί, τὰς μὲν μηχανὰς ἐν Τραλλεσι ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς τεταγμένους· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πολιν εἰς ἕδαφος καταβαλὼν, αὐτῆς τε ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Καρίας φύλακα ἐγκαταλιπὼν ξένους μὲν πεζοὺς τρισχιλίους, ἵππεας δὲ ἑξακοσίους καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐστέλλετο.

7 Τῆς δὲ Καρίας ξυμπάσης σατραπεύειν ἔταξεν Ἀδαν, θυγατέρα μὲν Ἑκατόμνω, γυναῖκα δὲ Ἰδριέως, ὃς καὶ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῇ ὢν κατὰ νόμον τῶν Καρων ξυνῆκεν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰδριεὺς τελευτῶν ταύτῃ ἐπιτρέψε τὰ πράγματα, νενομισμένου ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ὑπ' ἀπὸ Σεμιράμιδος καὶ γυναικας ἄρχειν

fire from the armouries and the tower, where it burned furiously, the wind wafting it in this direction; as for themselves, part retreated to the citadel on the island, part into the height called Salmakis. As soon as this news was reported to Alexander from some who had deserted after the disaster, and as he himself saw the fire spreading, though it took place about midnight, none the less he called up his Macedonians and put to the sword any incendiaries caught in the act, while advising that any citizens found in the houses should be saved.

Dawn was breaking, and observing the heights which the Persians and the mercenaries had seized, he decided not to besiege these, considering that it would mean much delay round about them, owing to the nature of the ground, and no great advantage now he had captured the whole city. He buried, therefore, those who had fallen during the night, and ordered the troops detailed for the purpose to withdraw the siege engines to Tralles. Then he razed to the ground the city and left a garrison for the destroyed city and for all Caria, and he despatched three thousand mercenary foot, two hundred horse, under Ptolemaeus, to Phrygia. As satrap of entire Caria he appointed Ada, daughter of Hecatomnus, wife of Hidrieus who according to Carian custom was both brother and husband. Hidrieus on his death had handed over affairs to her, from Semiramis down, the Asians had been used to women rulers.

δυδρῶν. Πιξώδαρος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐπβολὴν τῆς
8 ἀρχῆς, αὐτὸς δὲ κατεῖχε τὰ πράγματα. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Πιξώδαρου, Ὀροντοβάτης τὴν Καρῶν ἀρχὴν ἐς βασιλέως πομφθεὶς εἶχε, γαμβρὸς ὢν Πιξώδαρου. Ἄδα δὲ Ἀλινδα μοῖσα κατεῖχε χωρὶς τῆς Καριας ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρωτάτοις, καὶ ἐπβαλοντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς Καριαν ἀπηντα, τά τε Ἀλινδα ἐνδιδουσα καὶ παῖδα αἱ τίθεται Ἀλέξανδρον. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τά τε Ἀλινδα αὐτῇ ἐπιτρέψας καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἀνηλωσας, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἀλικαρνασσὸν τε ἑξειλε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Καριας ἐπεκρατησεν, αὐτῇ ἀρχειν ἐπέτρεψε ἔδωκε.

XXIV Τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ ἔστιν οἳ συνεστρατευμενοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦσαν νεωστι πρὸ τῆς στρατειας γεγαμηκοτες· καὶ τουτων ἔγνω οὐκ ἀμελητεα εἶναι οἱ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλ' ἐπειμπεν γὰρ αὐτους ἐς Καριαν διαχειμασοντας ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἅμα ταῖς γυναιξιν, ἐπιταξας αὐτοῖς Πτολεμαίον τε τον Σελευκου, ὅτι τῶν σωματοφυλακων τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ τῶν στρατηγων Κοινου τε τον Πολεμοκρατους καὶ Μελεαγρου τον Νεοπτολεμου, ὅτι καὶ
2 αὐτοι τῶν γαμων ἦσαν, προσταξας, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοὶ τε ἐπανηκωσι καὶ τους μετ' αὐτῶν ἐκπεμφθεντας ἐπαναγωσι, καταλέξαι ἱππέας τε καὶ πεζους ἐκ τῆς χωρας ὅσους πλειστους. Καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ τῷδε, εἴπερ τινὶ ἄλλῳ, εὐδοκιμησε παρὰ Μακεδοσιν Ἀλέξανδρος. Ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ Κλεανδρον τον Πολεμοκρατους ἐπὶ ξυλλογῇ στρατιωτῶν εἰς Πελοποννησον.

3 Παρμενιωνα δὲ πεμπει ἐπὶ Σάρδεων βοὴν αὐτῷ τῶν τε ἑταιρων ἱππαρχιαν καὶ τους Θετταλους

Pixodarus, however, turned her out of her position and assumed the throne himself On his death Orontobates, as envoy from the king and brother-in-law of Pixodarus, took over Ada meanwhile held Alinda only, a very strong fortress of Caria; and when Alexander entered Caria she went to meet him, surrendering Alinda and adopting Alexander as her son Alexander gave Alinda back to her in charge, and did not reject the adoptive title, and on the capture of Halicarnassus and the rest of Caria, put her in command of the whole

XXIV Some of the Macedonians serving under Alexander had been recently married before taking the field, Alexander thought he ought not to neglect these men, but sent them off from Caria to spend the winter with their wives in Macedonia, putting in charge of them Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus, one of the royal bodyguard, and attaching to him, of the officers, Coenus son of Polemocrates and Meleager son of Neoptolemus, being themselves bridegrooms. He directed them, when they should return and bring back their convoy, to collect horse and foot from the country, as many as they could. Alexander gained as much popularity by this act among the Macedonians as by any other He sent also Cleander son of Polemocrates to collect troops from the Peloponnese.

Parmenio he sent to Sardes, giving him a squadron of the territorial cavalry, the Thessalian cavalry, and

ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυμμάχους καὶ τὴν ἀμαξιτὸν ἄγειν καὶ κελεύει πρώτους ἐπὶ Σαρδέων τὴν Φρυγίαν. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Λυκίας τε καὶ Παμφυλίας ἦει, ἐπεὶ τήν παραλίαν ἁπάσαν ἀχρεῖον κατασκήψαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ ναυτικόν. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐς παραλίαν Τύαρα, χωρίον ἰσχυρόν, φυλακὴν ἔχον ξενικὴν μισθοφορικήν, ἐξ οὗ λόγου ἔλαβεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκροπόλει ξένοι ὑπεστρατοπέδευον ἐξηλλαγμένοι. Ἔπειτα εἰσβαλὼν ἐς Λυκίαν Τελμισσεῖς μὲν ὁμολογίᾳ προσηγάγετο πρέσβεις δὲ τοὺς Ξανθίων φόρους Πίναρα καὶ Ξανθον τὴν πόλιν καὶ Πύναρα ἐπολιόρκησε ἔλαβε καὶ ἄλλα ἔλαττω πολίσματα ἐς τριάκοντα.

5 Ταῦτα κατατρέψας ἐς δεκὰ ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὴν Μίλυαδα καλουμένην χώραν εἰσβάλλει, ἣ ἔστι μὲν τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας ξυντελὴς δὲ ἐς τὴν Λυκίαν τότε, αὐτὴν δὲ βασιλέως μεγάλου τεταγμένου. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα Φασηλιτῶν πρεσβεῖαι ἦσαν παρὰ φίλιαι τε καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανοῦσαι Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ υἱεῖ τῶν αὐτῶν στεφανουμένοις ἐπροσβαίνων Λυκίων τῶν κατω
6 τέρω πολλοί. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Φασηλίτας τε καὶ Λυκίων παραδοῦναι τὰς πόλεις τοῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ στελλομένοις ἐκέλευσε καὶ παραδόθησαν ξυμπασαι. Λυκίοι δὲ ἄλλων ὕστερον ἢ τῶν Φασηλιδῶν παρατυχόντων συνέξαιρεῖ αὐτοῖς φρούριον ἐχυρὸν ἐπιτειχισμένοις τῇ χώρᾳ ὅρον Πισιδῶν δέξει ὁμόρων τῶν Βαρβάρων πολλὰ ἐβλαπτον τῶν Φασηλιτῶν τοὺς τῶν ἐργαζομένων.

XXV Ἐνταῦθα παρὰ τῶν Φασηλιδῶν ἥκουσι πρέσβεις Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντου ἐπιβουλεύσοντες, τά τε ἄλλα τῶν ἑταίρων ὄντα καὶ

the other allies and the chariots, he bade him proceed from Sardes to Phrygia, but he himself went towards Lycia and Pamphylia so that, now he held the coast, he might render useless the enemy's navy. First then on his route he took in his stride Hyparna a strong place, with a mercenary garrison, but the mercenaries, receiving terms, marched out of the citadel. Then entering Lycia he took over, by surrender, the Telmissians, crossing the Xanthus, he received Pinara and Xanthus city and Patara in submission, and thirty smaller strongholds.

When he had completed all this in the height of winter, as it now was, he attacked the Milyan territory, as it is called. It belongs to Greater Phrygia, but was reckoned then as part of Lycia, according to the king's orders. There envoys from Phaselis come to offer friendly relations and to crown Alexander with a gold crown, taking the lead from them the greater part of Lower Lycia also sent envoys. Alexander bade both the envoys of Phaselis and the Lycians to hand over their cities to those whom he despatched to take them over, and they were all duly handed over. He came soon after to Phaselis and took in conjunction with these, a strong outpost, built to threaten this district by Pisidians, and from which the natives often did much injury to those of Phaselis who were tilling the ground.

XXV. While Alexander was still busied about Phaselis, he received news that his namesake, son of Aeropus, was meditating treachery—one of the "Companions,"[1] and at the moment commanding

[1] See Introductory Note.

ἐν τῷ τότε Θετταλῶν τῆς Ἴππων ἄρχοντα. Ἦν μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸς ἀδελφὸς Περδίκκου τε καὶ Ἀρριδαίου τῶν βασιλευσάντων τῆς
1 Μακεδόνων μετὰ τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τότε αὐτὸν ἀρχοντα αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι ἐν πρώτοις τὸ ἀφίστασθαι τῶν φίλων παρ' αὐτὸν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ τὸν θώρακα συνεῖδε συνηρεθισμένον αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια ὅστερον δὲ καὶ ἐν τιμῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχε, στρατηγὸν τε ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ἔστειλε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Κάλας ὁ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἵππαρχος ἐπὶ σατραπείᾳ ἐξεπέμφθη, αὐτὸν ἀντέδωκεν ἄρχειν τῆς Θετταλικῆς ἵππου. Τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐξηγγέλθη ὧδε
2 Δαρεῖος, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμύντας αὐτομολήσας παρ' αὐτὸν λόγους τε τινὰς καὶ γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἐκόμισε, κατανεύει ἐπὶ θαλάσσαν Σουσίνην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πιστὸν, προφάσει μὲν παρὰ Ἀντίζυγα, τὸν Φαρνάβαζου σατράπην, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τούτῳ συνθησόμενον καὶ πίστεις δώσοντα, εἰ ἀποστήσειεν βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρον, αὐτὸν βασιλέα καταστήσειν τῆς Μακεδόνων καὶ χρυσίου τάλαντα πρὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπιδώσειν χίλια
6 Ὁ δὲ Σουσίνης ἄλλους πρὸς Παρμενίωνα λέγει πρὸς Παρμενίωνα ὧν ἔνδον ἀπεστάλη καὶ τοὺς τοῦ [αὐτοῦ ἐν φυλακῇ τεμοῦσι Παρμενίωνα παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ συνίασιν ταῦτα παρ' αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. Συναγαγὼν δὲ τοὺς φίλους βουλὴν προυτίθη ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρου γνώμας.
8 Καὶ δόξαι τοῖς ἑταίροις μήτε πάλαι τὸ βουλεύεσθαι τὸ σφέτερον τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἄνδρὶ οὐ πιστῷ ἐπιτρέψαι, νῦν τε χρῆναι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὰς

the Thracian cavalry. This Alexander was brother to Heromenes and Arrabaeus, who had a part in the murder of Philip. Though he had incurred blame Alexander let him off for the nonce, since he had been among the first of his friends to rally to him on Philip's death, and had put on his cuirass and accompanied Alexander into the palace; later Alexander had even held him in a post of honour near his person, and had sent him to command in Thrace, and when Calas, commander of the Thracian cavalry, had been transferred to a satrapy, Alexander appointed him commander of the Thracian horse. The story of the plot was reported as follows.

Darius, when Amyntas deserted to him bringing overtures and a letter from this lesser Alexander, sent Sisines, a trusty Persian from his suite, to the coast. The pretext was that he was to visit Atizyes, satrap of Phrygia, but in fact he was to meet this Alexander and give him certain assurances, if he would assassinate Alexander the King, that the Persian king would give him the throne of Macedonia and a thousand gold talents to boot. Sisines fell into Parmenio's hands, and revealed to him the cause of his mission, and Parmenio sent him under escort to Alexander, who heard from him the same story. So he called together his friends and held a council to see what should be decided about the traitor. The Companions held that Alexander had originally done unwisely in giving over the best of the cavalry to an untrustworthy officer, and that

τάχος ἀκούειν ποιεῖσθαι, πρὶν καὶ ἀνιτηδειότερον γενόμενον τοῖς Θετταλοῖς ξὺν αὐτοῖς τὸ στρατεύεσθαι. Καὶ τὸ καὶ θεῖον ἐφοίτα αὐτοῦ (ἔτι γὰρ πολεμουμένου αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου) Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπαντᾶσθαι μὲν ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ, χλιδῶντα δὲ παρατετάσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τρυφώσας[1] μεγάλας καὶ τῇ εἰσῆς ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ καθιζούσας, θορυβωδεστέρου ἢ κατὰ τὸ σῶφρον φόβους. Τοῦ δὲ ὕπνου ἐπιόντος μὲν ἀδύνατον ἦγεν ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου, ἀναχλινομένου δὲ πρὸς τὴν φωνὴν τῇ χειρὶ οὐ βαρεῖαν ἀποσείεσθαι τὴν χλιδῶσαν τὴν δὲ τοιαύτην ἀμα ἕωθεν ἀπὸ φυγῆς πλησίον ἀφικομένην ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καθημένην μὴ προσθεῖναι, πρὶν παιτόλαος ἐξεγερθῆναι Ἀλεξάνδρου. Καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου οὐ φαύλου ποιησαμένου τὸ τῆς χλιδώσης ἀπαιτῆσαι Ἀριστεύρῳ τῷ Τελμησσεῖ, φασὶ Ἀριστεύρου δὲ ἀντειπόντος μὴ δι' ἃ τοῦ τῶν φίλων σημαίνεσθαι αὐτῷ εἶναι, σημαίνεσθαι δὲ καὶ ὅτι καταφανὴς ἔσται τῇ γὰρ χλιδώσῃ συντρόφου τε εἶναι ἀρετὴν καὶ εὔνουν αὐθρωπίνως καὶ λίαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄλλην ἀρετήν.

Ταῦτα τε οὖν καὶ τὰ ἄνω τοῦ Πάρου ξυνθεῖναι πάντα ὡς Παρμενίωνα Ἀμφοτέρων τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν παῖδα, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Κρατεροῦ καὶ ξυμπέμψαι αὐτῷ τῶν Παιγνιωνίων τινὰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύσοντας. Καὶ ὁ Ἀμφοτέρου στόλος ἐνδὺς ἀνεχώρησεν, ὡς μὴ γνώριμος εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, λαθόντας ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Παρμενίωνα καὶ γράμματα μὲν οὐ κομίζει παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου· οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκε γράφειν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς τοιούτου· ἐς τὸ

[1] τρυφώσας mem. contulit Lennep, Tom. II.

he should now get rid of him as soon as possible, before he got too familiar with the Thracians and headed some revolt. They also were troubled by an omen; for while Alexander was still besieging Halicarnassus and was taking his midday rest, a swallow circled over his head chattering noisily, and perched here and there on his bed; its note showed more alarm than the usual swallows' twittering. Alexander, from weariness, could not be awakened, but troubled by the twittering he gently brushed away the swallow, but the bird would not fly off when touched, rather it perched on Alexander's very head and kept on till Alexander fully awoke. Alexander, taking the incident seriously, reported it to Aristander of Telmissus, the seer; he replied that it meant treachery of some friend; but also the meaning was that this should come to light. For the swallow is a domestic bird, friendly to man, and a greater chatterer than any other bird.

Putting this together with the Persian's story, he sent to Parmenio Amphoterus son of Alexander, brother of Craterus, and at the same time some Pergaean guides. Amphoterus wore a native dress, so as not to be recognized on the journey; and so came safe to Parmenio. He brought no letter from King Alexander; it was thought unwise to commit anything to writing in a matter of this sort; but he

ἐμφανὲς· τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ γλώσσης αἱ ἀντιπαλμύδες ἐξηγγειλαν. Καὶ οὗτοι ξυλλαμβάνονται ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἦν.

XXVI Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἀραμένου ἐκ Φασηλίδος, μέρος μὲν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν πεμπτοῖ ἐπὶ Πέργης ἢ ὠδοποιήσασαν αὐτῷ οἱ Θρᾷκες χαλεπὴν ἅλλως καὶ μακρὰν οὖσαν τὴν παρόδον· αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἦγε τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτόν. Ἔστι δὲ ταύτῃ ἡ ὁδὸς οὐκ ἄλλως ὅτι μὴ τῶν ἀπ' ἄρκτου ἀνέμων πνεόντων· εἰ δὲ νότοι κατέχοιεν, ἄπορος ἔχει διὰ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ὁδοιπορεῖν. Τότε δ' ἐς νότων σκληρῶν ὥρμει[1] ἐπιπνεύσαντος, οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ θείου ὡς αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐξηγοῦντο, εὐμαρῆ καὶ ταχεῖαν τὴν παρόδον παρεσχόν. Ἐκ Πέργης δὲ ὡς πρόσω, ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρεσβεῖς Λαπτενίων αὐτοκράτορες, τὸν μὲν τόλμαν ἐνδιδόντες, φρουρὰν δὲ μὴ εἰσαγειν δέεσθαι. Καὶ παρὰ μὲν τὴν φρουρὰν πρᾶξαντες ἀπῆλθον ἅπερ ἦλθον, πεντήκοντα δὲ τάλαντα κελεύει τῇ στρατιᾷ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἐς μισθὸν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους οὓς ἔσεσθαι βασιλεῖ ἔτριφον. Οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοὺς ἵππους παραδώσειν ξυνθέμενοι ἀπῆλθον.

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἦει. Εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ Σιδῆτιν Κυμαῖοι ἀπ' Αἰολίδος καὶ οὗτοι λέγουσιν ὑπὲρ σφῶν τοιάδε τοὺς λόγους, ὅτι ἐς κατηγμὸν τὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἔκειντο οἱ πρῶτοι ἀπὸ Κύμης σταλέντες καὶ ἐνταῦθα οἰκισμὸν ἐξεῦρον, αὐτίκα τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐξελυθοῦσαν, αὐθὶς δὲ βαρβάρων φωνὴν ἴσασιν, οὐδὲ τῶν

[1] ὥρμει Α, ὥρμει Blackm.

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gave a verbal message as directed. Thus Alexander was arrested and kept under guard.

XXVI. Leaving Phaselis, Alexander sent part of his force through the mountain passes towards Perga, where the Thracians had made him a road, the round journey being difficult and long. He himself led his immediate followers along the coast, a route practicable only with north winds blowing; south winds make the passage along the shore impossible. There had been heavy southerlies, but a north wind had set in—this by divine interposition, as Alexander and his staff interpreted it—and made the passage easy and swift. As he went on from Perga there met him on the way plenipotentiaries from Aspendus surrendering the city, but begging it might not be garrisoned. This point they won; but Alexander exacted from them fifty talents for the army as pay and all such horses as they bred as tribute to the King of Persia. They agreed to hand over both, and so departed.

Alexander now went towards Side, whose inhabitants are Cymaeans from Aeolian Cyme; they give this account of themselves, that as soon as they reached that land, the first to leave Cyme, sailing thither to colonise, they forgot their native tongue and talked a foreign language straight away, and

πρασχωρων βαρβαρων, ἀλλὰ ἰδίων σφίσιν αὐτῶν φρουρῶν οὐσῶν τὴν φυγὴν· καὶ ἅτοπα οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους πρασχώρους Σιδῆται ἐπαρβάριζον.
6 Καταλιπὼν δὲ φρουρὰν ἐν [τῇ Σιδῇ. πρῶτα ἐπὶ Σύλλιον χωρίον ἔχυρον καὶ φρουρὰν ἔχον ξένων μισθοφόρων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων βαρβάρων. Ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ Σύλλιον ἐξ ἑφόδου αὐτοσχεδίου ἡλοὺς λαβεῖν, ἅτε τε ἡγεμὼν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τοὺς Λασιώδιους ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ξυγκειμένων πράξει ἀθύμους, αὖτε τοὺς ξένους παραδοῦναι τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν αὖτε ἅπαρα θήσειν τὰ χρήματα, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅτι ἀπαγγειλαμένου ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τὰς τε πύλας ἀνοιγήσεσθαι τοῖς παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου· καὶ τὰ τείχη ὅπη ἀσθενέστατα ἦν ἀναστατώσουσι, ταῦτα πυθόμενος ἐπὶ Λασιώδου ἀπεζευγνυεν.

XXVII Ὡίκηται δὲ τῆς Λασιώδου τὸ μὲν πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἄκρῳ ὀχυρᾷ καὶ ἀπότομῳ, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ τὴν ἄκραν ὁ Εὐρυμέδων ποταμὸς ῥεῖ· ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ ὀλίγαι οἰκήσεις καὶ τείχη περιεβέβλητο
2 αὐταῖς οὐ μεγα. Τὰ μὲν δὴ τείχη εὐθὺς, ὡς προσῆσαν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἄγοντος, ἐλάμπρυνεν ἔσω πυρσοὺς καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἔσας ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ φασμένους ὡς ἔδοσαν διαφθεῖραι ἐν ὀλίγῳ· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ξυμφεύγουσιν. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τῷ δυνάμει, οἷόν τοῦ ἑρημου τείχους παρελθόν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ταῖς καταλελειμμέναις
3 πρὸς τῶν Λασιωδίων. Οἱ δὲ Λασιώδιοι ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου παρ' ἕλπιδα ἥκοντα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν ἀγελῇ σφῶν ἤδη,

that not the Persian of the natives there, but their own idiom, in fact, a new dialect: henceforward the citizens of Side had been so many foreigners, contrary to the ways of their neighbours. Alexander left a guard at Side and went on to Sylleum, a fortified place with a garrison of mercenaries and also of the natives of those parts. But he could not take Sylleum in his stride, and, besides, it was reported on his march that the Aspendians were not minded to fulfil their obligations—neither to hand over the horses to the party sent to fetch them, nor to pay the money; nay, they had got their stuff in from the fields, had shut their gates upon Alexander's envoys, and were repairing weak places in their walls. Learning this, Alexander marched towards Aspendus.

XXVII. This city is built, for the most part, on a strong height, sheer, looking over the River Eurymedon. Round this height, on the flat, they had a number of dwellings and a small wall built round these. This wall, so soon as they were aware of Alexander's approach, the inhabitants deserted, and also the houses built on the level such as they thought it not possible to safeguard, they all took refuge on the height. Alexander, arriving with full force, entered within the deserted wall and camped in the empty houses. But the citizens as soon as they saw Alexander himself arrived—just what they had not looked for—and his army all round them, sent

πιμφαντες πρόβατα ἐθύοντο ἐφ' οἷσπερ τὸ πρότερον ξυμβήναι. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τό τε χωρίον ἔχυρον ἰδὼν καὶ αὐτοὺς [οὐ] σὺν ἀπὶ χρόνου πολιορκίαν παρασκευασμένους, ἅτε τοῖς αὐτοῖς μὲν οὐδὲ δι' ξυνοδίη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμηρους δὲ δοῦναι σφῶν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἐκέλευεν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους οὓς προσθέν ὠμολογήσαν καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἀντὶ τῶν ἑκατὸν, καὶ πείθεσθαι τῷ σατράπῃ τῷ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τεταγμένῳ καὶ φόρους ἀποφέρειν ὅσα ἐπὶ τῆ Μακεδόσι, καὶ ὑπερ τῆς χώρας διακρίνεσθαι ἣν τῶν προσχώρων οὖσαν βία κατέχειν ἐν αὐτῷ ἦσαν.

Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπεχωρήσαν, ἀνέζευξεν ἐς Πέργην, κἀκεῖθεν ἐς Φρυγίαν ὥρμητο· ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ πορεία παρὰ Τέλμισσον[1] πόλιν. Οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι τὸ μὲν γένος Πισίδαι εἰσὶ βαρβαροι, χωρίον δὲ οἰκοῦσιν ὑπερυψηλον καὶ πάντη ἀπότομον· καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς παρὰ τὴν πόλιν χαλεπὴ. Καθήκει γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀπόκρημνον· ἀντίπορον δὲ αὐτῷ ὄρος ἄλλο ἐστὶν οὐ μείον ἀπότομον. Καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὄρη ὥσπερ πύλαι ποιοῦσι ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ· καὶ ἔστιν ὀλίγη φυλακὴ κατέχοντας τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα ἄπορον ποιεῖν τὴν παρόδον. Καὶ τότε οἱ Τελμισσεῖς παρῆσαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἀμφότερα τὰ ὄρη κατειχον. Ταῦτα δὴ ἰδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος στρατοπεδεύεσθαι αὐτοῦ ὅπως εἶχον ἐκέλευε τοὺς Μακεδόνας, γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ μενοῦσι παρόντες οἱ Τελμισσεῖς αἰλιζομένους σφᾶς ἰδόντες, ἀλλ' ἀποχωρήσουσιν ἐς τὴν

[1] Codex gives Termessum, and Stutterus corrects to Telmessum, but the error is possibly Arrian's (see Roos).

envoys and begged to be allowed to surrender on the old terms Alexander, seeing that the position was strong, and being himself not ready for a long siege, yet refused the original terms. He demanded their most influential men as hostages, and that they should hand over the horses they had previously promised and a hundred talents in place of fifty; that they should give obedience to the satrap appointed by him, and pay yearly tribute to Macedon; an enquiry to be held, moreover, about the territory of their neighbours which they were accused of having taken by violence and now retaining.

All now satisfactorily arranged, Alexander moved to Perga and thence began his march to Phrygia, which led past Telmissus. The Telmissians are Pisidians in origin, uncivilized, and inhabit a very lofty position, precipitous all round; the road past the city is an awkward one. A height runs from the city up to the road, and there ends; but opposite is a height equally abrupt. These heights make natural gates on the road, and a small guard can cut off all approach by holding them. The Telmissians on this occasion came out in full force and occupied both heights. Alexander, seeing this, bade the Macedonians camp where they were, knowing that the Telmissians, seeing them bivouacking, would not

πόλιν, πλησίον οὖσαν, αἱ πολλαὶ αὐτῶν ἔσαν φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς. Καὶ ξυνέβη ἅπασι εἰσαῦτις αἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀνηλώθησαν, αἱ φυλακαὶ δὲ ἐγκατέμειναν. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐθὺς ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε τοξότας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν τάξεις καὶ τῶν ἑπλιτῶν ὅσοι εὐρωστότεροι, ἐπῆγεν. Οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔμειναν βαλλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἔλιπον τὸ χωρίον· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ στενὰ πρὸς τῇ πόλει κατεστρατοπέδευσε.

XXVIII Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' αὐτὸν Σελγέων πρέσβεις. Οἱ δὲ εἰσι καὶ αὐτοὶ Πισίδαι βαρβαροι καὶ πολὺν μεγάλῳ οἰκοῦσι καὶ μαχιμοι εἰσιν· ὅτι δὲ πολεμιοι τοῖς Τελμισσεῦσιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγχανον, ὑπὲρ φιλίας πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πεπρεσβεύμενοι ἦσαν. Καὶ πρὸν τοὺς τοὺς σπένδεται Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἐκ τούτου στίεται τοῖς ἅπασι ἔχρησατο. Τὴν Τελμισσὸν δὲ ἀπέγνω ἑλὼν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, ἀλλ' ὅτι Σαγαλασσοῦ ἐπέκειτο. Ἦν δὲ καὶ αὕτη οὐ μικρὰ πολις Πισίδαι καὶ ταύτην φασιν, καὶ ἔδοκουν φαύλων Πισίδων μαχιμώτατοι εἶναι οἱ μαχιμώτατοι· καὶ τότε τὸν λοφον τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι καὶ οὗτος οὐ μείων τοῦ τείχους ὄχυρος ἐς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι ἦν, κατειλήφεσαν προεμένου. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων ταττει ἐνθα· ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἵστατο, τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς εἶχεν, ἡγεμόνους δὲ τούτων τοὺς πεζεταίρους ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ εὐωνυμον παρατείνας, ὡς ἕκαστοι

[1] Ἀπέπεμπε elsewhere, but here as elsewhere Arrian does not observe Attic precision.

wait there in force, but would, for the most part, drift away to the city close by, leaving on the heights only a guard. His guess proved right, most of them moved off, the guards remained. At once bringing up against them the archers, the javelin battalions, and the lighter-clad men-at-arms, he led them against the enemy, who at the first volleys gave ground, leaving the position, on which Alexander passed the narrow passage and encamped near the city.

XXVIII At this point arrived envoys from the Selgians, who are also native Pisidians with a large city, a warlike people; they had been for some time at enmity with the Telmissians and so had sent an embassy to Alexander to ask for his friendship. Alexander granted their wish, and found them wholly trustworthy allies. He concluded that a siege of Telmissus would be a long one, and so moved on to Sagalassus, also a fairly large city, inhabited by Pisidians, the most warlike of this warlike tribe; they then occupied the hill in front of the city which was as strong for defensive operations as the wall itself, and held their ground. Alexander therefore thus deployed the Macedonian phalanx; on the right wing, his own post, he had the bodyguard, and in touch with them the territorial foot, right up to

τῶν στρατηγῶν ἡ ἡγεμονία τῆς τάξεως ἦν τῇ τότε
4 ἡμέρᾳ ἦν. Ἦγε δὲ τῷ συνωνύμῳ ἑπόμενον ἔταξεν ἡγεμόνα
Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἀρραβαίου. Προσετέθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ
τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρως οἵ τε τοξόται καὶ οἱ Ἀγρι-
ᾶνες, ταῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες,
ὧν ἡγεῖτο Σιτάλκης· οἱ γὰρ ἱππεῖς αὐτῷ σὺν
ὠφελίμοις ἦσαν ἐν τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ ἦσαν. Τοὺς Περσῶν δὲ
καὶ Μήδων καὶ Βακτρίων προσεβοηθησάτης συνετάξατο
5 Ἤδη δὲ οἱ ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον προσβάλλοντες
τῷ ὄρει ὑπὲρ κατεῖχον οἱ Περσῶν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ
ἀποτομώτατον τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ
ἐστήθησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ βαρβαροι λόχοις κατὰ
κέρως ἑκατέρου, ᾗ σφίσι μὲν εὐπροσοδώτατον
ἦν, τοῖς πολεμίοις δὲ χαλεπώτατη ἡ προσβασις.
Καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοξότας, οἷα δὴ αὖτε ἀκριβῶς
ὡπλισμένους καὶ ῥωστοὺς πολέμιστας, στρε-
6 ψαντο, οἱ δὲ Ἀγριᾶνες ἐμίσευαν. Ἔγγιον γὰρ
ἤδη καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ τῶν Μακεδόνων προσῆγε καὶ
πρὸ αὐτῆς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφαίνετο. Ὡς δὲ ἐν
χερσὶν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, γυμνοὶ τε οἱ βαρβαροι
ὄντες ὁπλίταις προσέφερόντο καὶ ταχὺ κατα-
τετρωμένοι ἔπιπτον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐγκλίνουσι.
7 Καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους·[1] αὐ-
τοὶ γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἄμπυκες τῶν χωρίων ἐν
χαλεπῷ ἀπεχώρουν· καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες διὰ
βαρυτητα τῶν ὅπλων καὶ ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἑαυ-
8 τῶν οὐ θαρραλέοι ἐς τὸ διώκειν ἦσαν. Ἀλέξανδρος
δὲ ἔχοντας τῶν φευγόντων τὴν πολιν αὐτῶν
αἱρεῖ κατὰ κράτος. Τῶν δὲ ξυν αὐτῷ Κλεάνδρου
τε ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν τοξοτῶν ἀποθνήσκει καὶ τῶν

[1] Alias συντετακίους Krüger and Roos mark a lacuna, supplying (some 14 letters illegible) R.

the left wing, all under the battalion officers in the order of precedence for the day. On the left he placed Amyntas son of Arrabaeus in command. Then in advance on the right wing were posted the archers and the Agrianes, on the left the Thracian javelin-men, under Sitalces; for the cavalry were of no use to him in this narrow space. Along with the Pisidians were ranged Telmissians who had come to help.

Already Alexander's immediate troops had thrown themselves on the height held by the Pisidians, and were now at the most steep part of the ascent; whereon the Pisidians attacked in ambuscades on either wing, where they could best approach, and the Macedonians were most hampered. They drove back the archers, being lightly armed and in the advanced line, but the Agrianes held firm. For the Macedonian phalanx was coming up, and Alexander himself was visible at its head. The battle becoming hand-to-hand, the unarmed natives charging hoplites were wounded, and falling on all sides, at length gave way. Some five hundred perished. Being light and knowing the country they got away easily; the Macedonians, from weight of armour and want of local knowledge had little heart for the pursuit. Alexander, however, kept on the heels of the fugitives and stormed the city, losing Cleandrus, the commander of the archers, and

ἄλλων ἀμφὶ τοῦτο εἶσον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πισίδας ἦγε καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν τόπων φρούρια βίᾳ εἷλε, τὰ δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ προσηγάγετο.

XXIX. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ Φρυγίας παρὰ τὴν λίμνην ἦν ἐπὶ Ἀκραΐνα, ἣν ἡ ἄλλη περιοῦσιν αὐτόματοι, καὶ τούτοις χρῶνται οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, οὐδὲ θαλάσσῃ τι ἐπὶ τοῦτο διανύουσι· καὶ ἐφιππεῖται ἐν Κελαιναῖς στρατιαῖς. Ἦν δὲ ταῖς Κελαιναῖς ἄκρα ἦν ἰσχυρὰ ἐπόπτους, καὶ ταύτην φυλακὴ κατεῖχεν ἐκ τοῦ σατράπου τῆς Φρυγίας. Κῶμαι μὲν χίλιαι, Ἕλληνες δὲ μισθοφόροι ἑκατόν. Καὶ οὗτοι προεβεβούλευντο παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπαγγέλλοντες, εἰ μὴ ἀφίκοιτό σφισι βοήθεια ἐς ἡμέρα ἣ ξυνέκειτο, φρούριον τὴν ἡμέραν, ὅτι παραδώσουσι τὸ χωρίον. Καὶ ἔδοξε ταῦτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὠφελιμώτερα ἢ πολιορκεῖν ἄκραν ταύτην προσφερόμενα τὴν ἄκραν. Πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς Κελαινεῖς φυλακὴν κατέλιπε στρατιώτας ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. Μάνην δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας δύο καὶ σατράπην ἀπέδειξε Φρυγίας Ἀντίγονον τὸν Φιλίππου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἄνδρ ἑκατὸν στρατηγὸν Βάλακρον τὸν Ἀμύντου ἐπέταξε, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Γορδίου ἐστέλλετο. Καὶ Παρμενίων ἐπιστέλλει, ἥκοντα ἅμα οἱ τὴν δύναμιν ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας καὶ ἑξακοσίους ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει Παρμενίωνι. Καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδόνων σταλέντες οἱ Γορδίου ἦσαν καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἄλλη στρατιὰ κατειλεγμένη, ἣν ἦγε Πτολεμαῖος τε ὁ Σελεύκου καὶ Κοῖνος ὁ Πολεμοκράτους καὶ Μελέαγρος ὁ Νεοπτολέμου, πεζοὶ μὲν Μακεδόνων τρισχίλιοι,

some twenty others. Then he attacked the remaining Pisidians, capturing many of their forts and receiving the surrender of others.

XXIX. Thence he passed into Phrygia by Lake Ascania, where salt gathers naturally, and is used by the inhabitants, who thus need no sea salt; in five days he reached Celaenae, where is a steep acropolis, held by a garrison under the satrap of Phrygia, a thousand Carians and a hundred Greek mercenaries. They sent envoys to Alexander, offering—in case help did not come to them on a day previously appointed—this date they specified—to surrender the position. Thus Alexander thought better than a siege of this unassailable position. So he left 1500 troops as a guard over Celaenae. Then he waited there ten days and appointed Antigonus son of Philip satrap, and in his place as commander of the allies Balacrus son of Amyntas then he set out towards Gordium, ordering Parmenio to meet him there with his force, and so he did. The recently married Macedonians who had gone to Macedonia also made their rendesvous at Gordium, and with them a freshly levied army, led by Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus, Coenus son of Polemocrates and Meleager son of Neoptolemus; there were 3000 Macedonian

ἱππεῖς δὲ ἐς τριακοσίους καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἱππεῖς διακόσιοι, Ἠλείων δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀλκιας ὁ Ἠλεῖος.

5 Τὸ δὲ Γόρδιον ἔστι μὲν τῆς Φρυγίας τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου, κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Σαγγαρίῳ ποταμῷ· τοῦ δὲ Σαγγαρίου αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐκ Φρυγίας εἰσίν· αὐτος δὲ διὰ τῆς Θρᾳκῶν τῶν Βιθυνῶν χωρας ἐξίησιν εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀθηναίων πρεσβεια παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφικετο, δεόμενοι Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεῖναί σφισι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, οἳ ἐπὶ Γρανικῷ ποταμῷ ἐλήφθησαν Ἀθηναίων ξυστρατευομενοι τοῖς Πέρσαις καὶ τότε ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ξυν τοῖς δισχιλίοις δεδεμένοι ἦσαν· καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἄπρακτοι

6 ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπῆλθον. Οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἔτι συνεστῶτος τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην πολεμου, ἀνεῖναί τι τοῦ φόβου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅσοι ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι στρατεύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐκ ἀπηξίωσαν· ἀλλ' ἀποκρίνεται, ἐπειδὰν τὰ παρόντα καλῶς γένηται, τότε ἥξειν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν πρεσβευομένους.

foot, 800 horse, 200 Thessalian horse, 150 Eleians under Alcias the Elean.

Gordium, you must know, is in Hellespontine Phrygia, on the river Sangarius, the springs of which are in Phrygia; it runs through Bithynian Thrace into the Euxine. There also an embassy arrived from Athens begging Alexander to release to them Athenian prisoners captured on the Granicus fighting on the Persian side and now under arrest in Macedonia with the 2000 captives. Their request was not, however, granted, and so they departed. Alexander did not think it wise, with the Persian war still in progress, to relax any terrors for the Greeks who had actually fought with foreigners against Greece, but he answered that when things proved satisfactory they were to approach him again on the same subject.

BOOK II

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ

1. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Μίμωνα τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ πάντος ἡγεμόνα καὶ τῆς παραλίου ξυμπάσης, ὡς ἐς Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀποστρέψων τὸν πόλεμον, Χίων μὲν λαμβάνει προδοσίᾳ ἐνδοθεισαν ἔνην δὲ ἐπὶ Λέσβου πλεύσας, ὡς οὐ προσίσχων αὐτῷ οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι, τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις τῆς Λέσβου προσηγάγετο. Ταύτας δὲ παραστησάμενος καὶ προσέχων τῇ Μιτυλήνῃ, τὴν μὲν πόλιν χάρακι διπλῷ ἐς θάλασσαν ἀπετείχισε, στρατοπέδα δὲ πάντα ἐποικοδομησάμενος τῆς γῆς ἐκράτει οὐ χαλεπῶς. Καὶ μέρος μὲν τι τῶν νεῶν τὸν λιμένα αὐτῶν ἐφύλασσε, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Λέσβου τὸ Σίγριον, ἵνα ἡ προσβολὴ μάλιστα ἦν ταῖς ἀπὸ τε Χίου καὶ Γεραιστοῦ καὶ Μαλέας ἁλιπλοίαις, ἀποστείλας τὸν παραπλέοντα ἐς φυλακὴν εἶναι, ὡς μή τινα ὠφέλειαν κατὰ θάλασσαν γίγνεσθαι τοῖς Μιτυληναίοις. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ αὐτὸς μὲν νοσῳ τελευτᾷ, καὶ εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ τότε ἔβλαψε τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα. Αὐτοφραδὴς δὲ καὶ Φαρναβάζου ὁ Ἀρταβάζου, ὅτῳ καὶ ἐντρεφὴς τελευτὼν ὁ Μίμων τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴν ἔσχε Δαρείου τε ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν γενόμενος, ἀδελφιδοῦς αὐτοῦ ὄντι, οὕτως τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ἐπῆλθε προσέχων τὸν νοῦν. Καὶ οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι τῆς τε γῆς πρὸ-

BOOK II

I. It was after the above events that Memnon, appointed by Darius commander-in-chief of the navy and of all the coast-line, with the idea of diverting the war into Macedonia and Greece, captured Chios, delivered over by treachery, thence he sailed to Lesbos, and though Mitylene did not come over to him, he became master of the remaining cities of Lesbos. Disposing of these, he put in at Mitylene, and fenced off the city by a double stockade from sea to sea, then he built five strategic camps and had no trouble in holding the country. Part of his fleet guarded the Mitylenean harbour; other ships he despatched to the promontory of Lesbos, Sigrium, where cargo vessels from Chios and Geraistus and Malea usually put in, and so he patrolled the coast, to prevent help from coming to Mitylene by sea. While thus engaged he fell ill and died; the severest blow during this period to the hopes of Persia. Autophradates, however, and Pharnabazus son of Artabazus, to whom, being his nephew, with his dying breath Memnon handed over his command, till Darius should take further measures, carried on the blockade vigorously. Mitylene thus barred

μενοι και ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐφορμοῦσαις φρουρούμενοι, πιμπράσιν παρὰ τῶν Φαρναβάζου ὁμολογίας ἐποιήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν ξένους τοὺς παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου αφίσι κατὰ συμμαχίαν φίλους ἀπολύειν, Μιτυληναίους δὲ καθελεῖν μὲν τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον αφίσι γενομένας ἑτοίμας, ξυμμαχοῦντας δὲ εἶναι Δαρείου κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν ἐπ' Ἀντιαλκίδου γενομένην πρὸς βασιλέα Δαρεῖον,[1] τοὺς φυγάδας δὲ αὐτῶν κατιέναι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν τότε ὄντων ὅτε 6 ἔφυγον. Ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ ἡ ξυμβασις τοῖς Μιτυληναίοις πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας ξυνέπη. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ Αὐτοφραδάτης, ὡς παρῆλθον ἐναντίον τῆς πολεως, φρουραν τε ἐς αὐτὴν εἰσήγαγον καὶ φρουραρχον ἐπ' αὐτῇ Λυκομήδην Ῥόδιον, καὶ τυραννον ἐγκατέστησαν τῇ πολει Διογνητον, ὅτι τῶν φυγάδων χρήματά τε ἐσέπραξαν τοὺς Μιτυληναίων τὰ μὲν βιᾳ ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας, τὰ δὲ ὅτε τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιβαλόντες.

II Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενοι Φαρναβάζης μὲν ἤλασε ἐπὶ Λυκίαν ἄγων τοὺς ξένους τοὺς μισθοφόρους, Αὐτοφραδάτης δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κατανεύμασι Δαρείου Θυμώδαν τὸν Μιτυληναῖον, αὐτὸν μὲν τοὺς ξένους παρὰ Φαρναβάζου παραλήψεσθαι καὶ ἀπέξοντα παρὰ βασιλέα, Φαρναβάζῃ δὲ ἐρούντα ἀρχειν ἕως 2 Μέμνων ἥκοι. Καὶ παραδοὺς τούτῳ τοὺς ξένους Φαρναβάζης ἤλασε παρ' Αὐτοφραδάτην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. Ὡς δὲ αμοῦ ἐγένοντο, ἔκπλους μὲν ταῖς

[1] Δαρείου F (and) omits, the error is possibly Arrian's. So also in II. 2 below

from the landward side and watched on the seaward side by a flotilla of blockading ships sent to Pharnabazus, and undertook that the mercenaries whom Alexander had despatched to fight for them should be sent about their business, that the Mityleneans should remove the pillars on which were inscribed their agreement with Alexander, and become allies of Dareius on the basis of the peace of Antalcidas with King Dareius, and that the exiles should return into possession of half the property held at the time of their exile. Such were the terms of the Mitylenean agreement with the Persians. Pharnabazus, however, and Autophradates, once within the city, brought in a garrison and set Lycomedes of Rhodes in command of it, and made Diogenes, one of the exiles, tyrant over the city they also exacted a fine from Mitylene, taking part from the rich citizens by force, and the rest by a general tax.

II. When they had made these dispositions, Pharnabazus sailed towards Lycia with the mercenaries, Autophradates to the other islands At this time Dareius sent Thymondas son of Mentor to take over the mercenaries from Pharnabazus and lead them to Dareius, and to instruct Pharnabazus to take over Memnon's command. Pharnabazus duly handed over the mercenaries to Thymondas, and sailed to join the fleet and Autophradates. On rejoining they sent ten ships to the Cyclades under

στέλλουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους Δατάμην ἄνδρα Πέρσην ἄγοντα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ναυσὶν ἐκατὸν ἐπὶ Τενέδου ἔπλευσαν· καταισχυθέντες δὲ τὴν Τενέδου ἐς τὸν Βορέαν καλούμενον λιμένα πίμπουσι παρὰ τοὺς Τενεδίους καὶ κελεύουσι τὰς στήλας τὰς παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας γενομένας σφίσι, ταύτας μὲν καθελεῖν, πρὸς Δαρεῖον δὲ ἄγειν τὴν εἰρήνην ἣν ἐπὶ
3 Ἀνταλκίδου Δαρείῳ συνέθεντο. Τενεδίοις δὲ τὰ μὲν τῆς εὐνοίας ἐς Ἀλέξανδρόν τε καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔπεισι μάλιστα· ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι ἄνδρα ἕλλην ἔδοσαν ὅτι μὴ προσχωρήσαντας τοῖς Πέρσαις συζεσθαι ἔφασαν οὐδὲ Ἡγελοχῳ, ὅτῳ προσέταξαν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐθις ξυναγαγεῖν δυνάμιν ναυτικήν, τοσαύτη ξυνηγμένη ἦν ἐς δι' ὀλίγου προσδοκᾶν ἔσεσθαι ἐν σφίσι παρ' αὐτοῦ τινὰ ὠφέλειαν. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ οἱ ἀμφὶ Φαρνάβαζον τοὺς Τενεδίους φοβῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐθέλοντας παρεστήσαντο.

4 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Πρωτέας ὁ Ἀνδρονίκου ἐτύγχανε μὲν ξυναγαγὼν ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος τε καὶ Πελοποννήσου ναῦς μακρὰς, ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου τεταγμένος, ὡς εἶναί τινα καὶ ταῖς τε νήσοις φύλακην καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, εἰ, καθάπερ ἐξηγγέλλετο, ἐπιπλεύσειεν οἱ Βαρσάρου· πυθόμενος δὲ Δατάμην περὶ Σίφνον ὁρμεῖν δέκα ναυσὶν, αὐτὸς ἔχων πεντεκαίδεκα νηῶν ἀνάγεται ἐπὶ Χαλκίδος τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ
5 Εὐρίπῳ καὶ προσσχὼν ὀψὲ τῆς Κυθνῳ τῇ νηὶ τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ αὐλίζεται· ὡς σαφέστερον τε διαπυθέσθαι τὰ περὶ τῶν δέκα νεῶν καὶ ἅμα ἐν νυκτὶ φοβερώτερον προσπεσεῖν τοῖς Φοινίξιν· ὡς δὲ ἐμάθε σαφῶς τὸν Δατάμην ξὺν ταῖς

Datames, a Persian, while they proceeded with a hundred sail to Tenedos. They reached the "north harbour" of Tenedos and sent to the city and ordered the destruction of the inscribed pillars of the agreement made by Tenedos with Alexander and the Greeks, and the observance of the Peace of Antalcidas made with Darius. The whole inclination of Tenedos was towards Alexander and the Greeks; but at the moment there seemed no other hope of safety save in accepting the Persian terms, since Hegelochus, who had orders from Alexander again to assemble a fleet, had not raised a sufficient force to expect from him any speedy help. It was in this way rather by terrorism than by their will that Pharnabazus received the surrender of the island of Tenedos.

Meanwhile Proteas son of Andronicus had collected from Euboea and the Peloponnese certain ships of the line, as ordered by Antipatros, so as to be a naval guard to the islands and the mainland of Greece, supposing—as reports suggested—that the Persians should descend upon it. But learning that Datames was anchored near Siphnos with ten ships he put to sea with fifteen sail by night towards Chalcis on the Euripus. Then at dawn putting in at the island of Cythnus, he lay there during the day-time, to get surer intelligence about the ten ships, and also to swoop down on the Phoenicians at night, which would scare them the more. Finding for certain that Datames was anchored at Siphnos,

ναυσὶν ἐς Σίφνῳ ὁρμοῦντα, ἀναπλεύσας ὅτι
τάχιστα ἐν αὐτὴν τὴν ἁλὼ καὶ ἀνορύξαντες
ἀνεύρισκον ἐστὶ μὲν παῖς αὐτοῖς αὐξόμενος Ἡλιάδ-
δης δὲ μετὰ δύσιν τριηρεῖν ἐς τὴν πρώτην
προσμίξει τῶν ἄλλα Πρώτης ἐκεῖνος ὑπεκφύγοι
ἀνεκαθὼν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικόν

III Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐς τὴν Γορδίου παρῆλθε,
σφᾶς λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ἀναβάντα ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν,
ἵνα καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἦν τὰ Γορδίου καὶ τοῦ
παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Μίδου, τὴν ἅμαξαν ἰδεῖν τοῦ
Γορδίου καὶ τοῦ ζυγοῦ τὴν ἁμάξης τὸν δεσμόν.
2 Λόγος δὲ περὶ τῇ ἁμάξῃ ἐκείνῃ παρὰ τοῖς
προσχώροις πολλὸς κατεῖχε. Γορδίου εἶναι τὸν
πάλαι Φρυγῶν ἄνδρα πενίᾳ τε καὶ ὀλιγῃ εἶναι
αὐτῷ γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ζεύγη βοῶν δύο· καὶ
τῷ μὲν ἀρότριον, τῷ δὲ ἁμάξιον τὸν Γορδίου.
3 Καὶ ποτε ἀροῦντος αὐτοῦ ἐπιστῆναι ἐπὶ τοῦ
ζυγοῦ ἀετὸν καὶ ἐπιμεῖναι ἕστε ἐπὶ βουλυτὸν
καθῆμενον· τὸν δὲ ἐκπλαγέντα τῇ ὄψει ἰέναι
ἐπειρωτήσοντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου παρὰ τοὺς Τελμισσέων
τοὺς μάντεις· εἶναι γὰρ τοῖς Τελμισσεῦσι σοφοὺς
τὰ θεῖα ἐξηγεῖσθαι, καὶ σφίσιν αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι
διδόσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ τὴν
4 μαντικήν. Προσαγαγόντα δὲ ἐκεῖ τινι τῶν Τελ-
μισσέων ἐντυχεῖν παρθένῳ νυμφευομένῃ, καὶ πρὸς
ταύτῃ εἶπαι ὅτου οἱ τὸ τοῦ ἀετοῦ ἔσχε τὴν
δὲ εἶπαι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν τοῦ μαντικοῦ γένους)
θύειν αἰτίαν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ, ἐναντίβοντα
ἐς τὸν τόπον αὐτόν. Καὶ δεηθῆναι γὰρ αὐτὴν
Γορδίου, τὸν θυσίαν ξυνεστιοῦσθαι οἱ αὐτὴν
ἐξηγήσασθαι, θῦσαι τε ἅτοτε ἐκείνῃ ὑπατεύοντα τὸν
Γορδίου καὶ ξυγγενέσθαι οἱ γάμῳ τῷ παιδὶ καὶ
τῷ

he sailed to the attack, night though it was, attacking just at dawn when the enemy expected nothing, and capturing eight ships with their crews, Datames with two triremes fled unobserved at the first charge of Proteas' ships and safely joined the rest of the fleet.

III. Alexander, then, reached Gordium, and was seized with an ardent desire to ascend to the acropolis, where was the palace of Gordius and his son Midas, and to look at Gordius' wagon and the knot of the chariot's yoke. There was a widespread tradition about this chariot around the countryside: Gordius, they said, was a poor man of the Phrygians of old, who tilled a scanty parcel of earth and had but two yoke of oxen. with one he ploughed, with the other he drove his wagon. Once, as he was ploughing, an eagle settled on the yoke and stayed, perched there, till it was time to loose the oxen; Gordius was astonished at the portent, and went off to consult the Telmissian prophets, who were skilled in the interpretation of prodigies, inheriting—women and children too—the prophetic gift. Approaching a Telmissian village, he met a girl drawing water and told her the story of the eagle; she, being also of the prophetic line, bade him return to the spot and sacrifice to Zeus the King. So then Gordius begged her to come along with him and assist in the sacrifice; and at the spot duly sacrificed as she directed,

8 γενέσθαι αὐτοῖν παῖδα Μίδαν ὄνομα. Ἤδη τε
ἀνὸρα εἶναι τὸν Μίδαν καλὸν καὶ γενναῖον, καὶ
ἐν τούτῳ στάσει πιέζεσθαι τὸν σφίσι τοὺς Φρύγας,
καὶ γνῶναι αὐτοὺς χρησμὸν ὅτι ἅμαξα ἄξει
αὐτοῖν βασιλέα καὶ ὅτι οὗτος αὐτοῖς καταπαύσει
τὴν στάσιν. Ἔτι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων βου-
λευομένοις ἐλθεῖν τὸν Μίδαν ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ
καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ἐπιστῆναι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτῇ
8 ἁμάξῃ. Τοὺς δὲ ξυμβάλλοντας τὰ μαντεῖα τοῦ
θείου γνῶναι ὅτι τοῦτο ἐστὶν ὃ θεὸς αὐτοῖς
δήλωσεν ὅτι ἄξει ἡ ἅμαξα καὶ καταστήσει μὲν
αὐτοὺς βασιλέα τὸν Μίδαν, Μίδαν δὲ αὐτοὺς τὴν
στάσιν καταπαύσαι, καὶ τὴν ἅμαξαν τοῦ πατρὸς
ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἀναθεῖναι χαριστήρια τῷ Διὶ τῷ
βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἄντου τομῇ. Ἤρετο δὲ ἤ
τοῦτον καὶ τοῦδε περὶ τῆς ἁμάξης ἐμνήσατο,
ἔστε λύσαι τὸν ζυγοῦ τῆς ἁμάξης τὸν δεσμόν.
7 τούτου χρῆναι ἄρξαι τῆς Ἀσίας. Ἦν δὲ ὁ
δεσμὸς ἐκ φλοιοῦ κρανέας καὶ τούτου οὔτε τέλος
οὔτε ἀρχὴ ἐφαίνετο. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀπορίᾳ
μὲν οὐχὶ ἐξευρὼν λύσιν τοῦ δεσμοῦ, ἄλυτον δὲ
παριδεῖν οὐκ ἤθελε, μή τινα καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ
τοῦ πολλοῦ εἰκότως ἐργάσηται οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν
ὅτι πατάξας τῷ ξίφει διέκοψε τὸν δεσμὸν καὶ
λελύσθαι φᾷ Ἀριστοβούλου δὲ λέγει ἐξελκύσαι
τὸν πείρον τοῦ ῥυμοῦ· ἐκ δὲ τούτου διαπεπλη-
μμένος διὰ τοῦ ῥυμοῦ διαπτὰς συνέχων τὸν
δεσμὸν, ἐξελκύσαι ἔξω τοῦ ῥυμοῦ τὸ ζυγόν.
8 Ὅπως μὲν δὴ ἐπράχθη τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ δεσμῷ
τούτῳ Ἀλέξανδρῳ, οὐκ ἔχω ἰσχυρίσασθαι.
Ἀναλλαγὴ δ' οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμάξης αὐτοῦ τε καὶ
οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ λύσει

married the girl, and had a son called Midas. Midas was already a grown man, handsome and noble, when the Phrygians were in trouble with civil war; they received an oracle that a chariot would bring them a king and he would stop the war. True enough, while they were discussing this, there arrived Midas, with his parents, and drove, chariot and all, into the assembly. The Phrygians, interpreting the oracle, decided that he was the man whom the gods had told them would come in a chariot, they thereupon made him king, and he put an end to the civil war. The chariot of his father he set up in the acropolis as a thank-offering to Zeus the King for sending the eagle. Over and above this there was a story about the wagon, that anyone who should untie the knot of the yoke should be lord of Asia. This knot was of cornel bark, and you could see neither beginning nor end of it. Alexander, unable to find how to untie the knot, and not brooking to leave it tied, lest this might cause some disturbance in the vulgar, smote it with his sword, cut the knot, and exclaimed, "I have loosed it!"—so at least say some, but Aristobulus puts it that he took out the pole pin, a dowel driven right through the pole, holding the knot together, and so removed the yoke from the pole. I do not attempt to be precise how Alexander actually dealt with this knot. Anyway, he and his suite left the wagon with the impression that the oracle about the loosed knot had

τοῦ δεσμοῦ συμβεβασιν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν νυκτὸν ἐκείνην βρονταὶ τε καὶ αἰθρίαι ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπεσημήνανε καὶ σὺν τούτοις θεὸν τῷ μετεμιῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῖς φοβεροῖς θεοῖν τό τε σῶμα καὶ τὸν δεσμὸν τὸν λύσιν

IV Αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπ' Ἀγκύρας τῆς Γαλατικῆς ἐπέλλετο· ἐκεῖ αὐτῷ πρεσβεῖαι ἀφίκοντο Παφλαγόνων, τὸ τε θεῖον ἐκλιπαροῦντες καὶ ἐς ὁμολογίαν ξυμβαίνοντες· ἐς δὲ τὴν χώραν 1 αὐτῶν τῇ δυνάμει μὴ ἐσβάλλειν ἐδέοντο. Τούτους μὲν δὴ πρεσβευσαμένους ὑπεδέξατο Κάλη τῷ σατράπῃ τῆς Φρυγίας· Αὐτὸς δὲ αὖτε τὴν Καππαδοκῶν ἐλάσας ξυμβάσας τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἅλυν ποταμὸν προσηγάγετο καὶ ἐπὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἅλυν γαλλῶν. Καταστησάμενος δὲ Καππαδοκῶν Σαβίκτην σατράπην, αὐτὸς προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τὰς 2 Κιλικίας· Καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ Κύρου τοῦ ἔξω Ξενοφῶντι στρατεύσαντος, ὃν κατεσκάφησαν τὰς πύλας φύλακες ἰσχυροὶ εἶδε. Παρμενίωνα μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν σὺν ταῖς τάξεσι τῶν πεζῶν ὅσοι βαρύτεροι ὑπλίσμενοι ἦσαν αὐτὸς δὲ ἅμα πρωΐ τὴν φύλακα ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ἱππακοντιστὰς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας, προῆγε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ὡς οὐ προσδεχομένοις 4 τοῖς φύλαξιν ἐπιέναι· Καὶ προσῆγεν μὲν σὺν ἕωθεν, ἐς ἴσον δὲ αὐτῷ κατέστη ἡ τολμα. Οἱ γὰρ φύλακες αἰσθόμενοι Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτὸν προσιόντος, λιπόντες τὴν φυλακὴν ᾔεσαν φεύγοντες· Τῷ δὲ μετεμιῷ ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ ἐν τῇ δυνάμει πᾶσῃ ὑπερβάλλων τὰς πύλας κατέβαινεν 5 ἐς τὴν Κιλικίαν· Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ Ἀρσάμης ὅτι πρόσθεν μὲν ἐπεπόνθει ἐπιπολάζων

been duly fulfilled. It is certain that there were that night thunderings and lightnings, which indicated this, so Alexander in thanksgiving offered sacrifice next day to whatever gods had sent the signs and certified the undoing of the knot.

IV Next day Alexander set forward towards Ancyra of Galatia, there an embassy of Paphlagonians met him, giving submission of their tribe and agreeing to terms; they begged him not to enter their country in force. Alexander instructed them to take orders from Calas, satrap of Phrygia. He himself marched to Cappadocia, received surrender of all this country this side of the River Halys and a good deal of the far side. He made Sabiktas satrap of Cappadocia and pushed on to the Cilician gates. When he reached the camp of Cyrus, who had been with Xenophon, and saw the Gates strongly held, he left Parmenio there with heavier-armed foot battalions, while he himself, about the first watch, took the bodyguard, archers and Agrianes, and marched by night to the Gates, meaning to take the guards unawares. But his march was observed, none the less, the enterprise succeeded, for the guards, finding that he was leading in person, left their posts and fled. Next day at dawn he passed the Gates with his full force and descended into Cilicia. There it was reported to him that Arsames, who had all along been anxious

Πύρωνα τὴν Ταρσόν. ἐς δὲ ἐναρθμήσοντα ἔδη
τοὺς σκηνὰς ἐπίθετο Ἀλέξανδρον. κελεύσαν δὲ τῷ
εἴκε τὸν σκηνὸν δοκέοντα εἶν τοῦτ Ταρσίοις μὴ
ἐφ' ἁρπαγὴν τρέπεσθαι αὐτὸν τὴν ἀπολειφθεῖσαν τὴν
6 Ταρσῶν πόλιν. Ταῦτα ἐκείνους ἐρόμην ἤγεν
ἐπὶ τὸν Ταρσὸν τοῦτ τε ἑστίας καὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς
ἔσω σωφρονεστάτους, ἔστε ὁ Ἀρσάμης μαθὼν αὐτοὺ
τὴν ὁρμὴν σπουδῇ φεύγει ἐκ τῆς Ταρσῶν παρὰ
βασιλέα Δαρεῖον οὐδὲν βλάψας τὴν πόλιν.

7 Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ, ὡς μὲν Ἀριστόβουλος λέ-
γεται, νόσος ἔσχεν ἐνταῦθα· αἱ δὲ ὡς τοῦ
Κύδνου ποταμοῦ λέγουσι ῥεῖθρα πηξάσθαι,
ἐπιθυμήσαντα τοῦ ὕδατος ἐξελθόντα καὶ γυμνὸν
ἐχόμενον. Ὁ δὲ Κύδνος ῥεῖ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως·
εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ταύρου ὄρους τοῦ πλησίον οἱ ἀπορ-
ρέοντες καὶ ἐκ χωρίου καθαροῦ ῥέουσι, ψυχρὸς τε ἐστὶ
8 καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καθαρόν. Σπασμῷ τε οὖν ἐχόσθαι
Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ θερμασίᾳ ἰσχυρᾷ καὶ δίψει πιεῖν
ξυνεχεῖ. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἰατροὺς οὐκ
εἰδέναι εἶναι βιασίμων Φίλιππον δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνα,
ἰατρὸν, ξυνόντα Ἀλέξανδρῳ καὶ τὰ τῷ σώμα
ἰατρικὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα πιστεύοντα καὶ τὰ
ἄλλα ὡς ἀλκίμου δὲ τῷ στρατῷ ὄντα, καθῆραι
δέλειν Ἀλέξανδρον φαρμάκῳ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον
9 καθῆραι. Τὸν μὲν δὴ παρασκευάζειν τὸ φάρμακον·
ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιστολὴν ἀνοιγόντα παρὰ
Παρμενίωνος φυλάσσεσθαι Φίλιππον· ἀκούειν γὰρ
διεφθάρθαι ὑπὸ Δαρείου χρήμασιν, ὥστε φάρμακῳ
ἀνελεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον. Τὸν δὲ ἀναγνόντα τὴν
ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ἅτε μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντα, αὐτὸν μὲν
καθεῖναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐν ᾗ ἦν τὸ φάρμακον τῷ
Φιλίππῳ δοῦναι ἀναγνώσεσθαι

to save Tarsus for the Persians, learning that he had passed the Gates, was minded to desert the city, so the Tarsians were afraid he would plunder the city before deserting it. Learning this, Alexander brought up at full speed the cavalry and the lighter mobile troops, so that Arsames learning of his onrush fled to King Darius without harming the city

Here Alexander fell ill from fatigue; so at least Aristobulus says; others relate that he dived into the River Cydnus and had a swim, anxious for the bathe since he was forworn with sweat and heat. The Cydnus runs right through the city, and as its springs are in Mount Taurus, and it runs through open country, it is cold and clear Alexander therefore caught a cramp, and suffered from violent fever and insomnia. All his physicians gave him up save Philip, an Acarnanian doctor, who attended him, very much trusted in medical matters, and, moreover, a brave man in the field; he proposed a strong purge, and Alexander bade him administer it. He made up the draught therefore; at the moment a note was given Alexander from Parmenio, "Beware Philip! I learn that Darius has bribed him to murder you." Alexander read the letter, held it in his hand, took the glass with the draught, and gave the note to Philip to read. At one and the

10 Καὶ ἅμα τῶν τε Ἀλεξάνδρου πίνειν καὶ τὸν Φιλώτου ἀναγινώσκειν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος. Φιλώτου δὲ αὐδὴν ἀκοῦσαι γενέσθαι ὅτι καλῶς οἱ ἔχει τὰ τοῦ φαρμάκου· οὐ γὰρ ἀντλαγήναι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦδε μόνον παρακαλέσαι Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα οἱ πιστεύεσθαι ὅσα ἀναγγέλλοιτο· σωθησόσθαι γὰρ
11 πιόντα μόνον. Καὶ τὸν μὲν καθαρθῆναι τε καὶ βαλέσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ σκῆμα, Φιλώτῳ δὲ ἐπιδεῖξαι ὅτι πιστὸς ἐστὶν αὐτῷ φίλος, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὅτι αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς φίλοις βεβαίοις εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τυγχάνει ὢν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀναθαρσεῖν ἑρμένος.

V Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Παρμενίωνα μὲν πέμπει ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας πύλας, αἳ δὴ ὁρίζουσι τὴν Κιλικίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων χώραν, προκατειληφότι καὶ φυλάσσειν τὴν παροδόν, ἅτε αὐτῷ τῶν τε ξυμμάχων τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς Θρᾷκας, ὧν Σιτάλκης ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δὲ τοὺς Θεσσαλούς.
2 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἑτέρᾳ ἅμα τὴν Ταρσοῦ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἐς Ἀγχίαλον πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται. Ταύτην δὲ Σαρδανάπαλον κτίσαι τὸν Ἀσσυρίων λόγος καὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεμελίοις τῶν τειχῶν δῆλα ἐστι μεγάλη τε πόλις κτισθεῖσα καὶ ἐπὶ
3 μεγα ὄλβου ἐλθοῦσα δυνάμεως. Καὶ τὸ μνῆμα τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλου ἔγγυς ἦν τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Ἀγχιάλου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφιστᾷ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Σαρδανάπαλος συμβιβήκεσι τὰς χεῖρας ἀλλήλαις ἐς μάλιστα ἐπ' ἀρτίου συμβαλλούσας, καὶ ἐπιγραμμα ἐπεγεγραπτο αὐτῷ Ἀσσύρια γράμματα· οἱ μὲν Ἀσσύριοι καὶ μέτρον ἔφασκον

same moment Alexander drank the dose and Philip read Parmenio's note. At once Philip made clear that all was well with his prescription; he showed no guilty conscience at the letter, but bade Alexander follow out his remaining instructions; obedience would mean recovery. The purge worked and eased the illness; and Alexander gave proof to Philip that he was his firm friend, as also to his suite generally that he trusted and did not suspect his friends, and he showed also his bravery in face of death.

V. Next he sent Parmenio to the other Gates which divide the Cilician and Assyrian territories, to seize and occupy the pass, giving him the allied infantry, the Greek mercenaries, and the Thracians under Sitalces, with the Thessalian horse. Later on, he left Tarsus, and in one day reached Anchialus, founded, as legend says, by Sardanapalus the Assyrian. The circumference and the foundations of the walls show that the city was, when founded, a large one, and grew to great power. Sardanapalus' tomb was near the walls of Anchialus; over it stood Sardanapalus himself, his hands joined as if to clap, and an epitaph was inscribed in the Assyrian script; the Assyrians said that it was in

ἐπείνας τῷ ἐπιγράμματι, ὁ δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ ἐφεξῆς τὰ ἔπη, ὅτι Σαρδανάπαλλος ὁ Ἀνακυνδαράξου παῖς Ἀγχιάλην καὶ Ταρσὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἐδείματο. Σὺ δέ, ὦ ξεῖνε, ἔσθιε καὶ πῖνε καὶ παῖζε, τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα οὐκ ἔστιν ταύτου ἄξια· τὸν ψοφοῦντα κλαπάγωνα ὄπισθεν τῇ χειρὶ ἔτυπτε τῷ κρότῳ ποιούσῃ· καὶ τὸ παῖζε ῥᾳδιουργότερον ἐγγεγράφθαι ἔφασαν τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ γλώττῃ.

5 Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀγχιάλου ἐς Σόλους ἀφίκετο καὶ φρουραν ἐνταῦθα ἐς Σόλους καὶ ἐπέβαλεν αὐτοῖς τάλαντα διακόσια ἀργύρου ζημίαν, ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας μᾶλλον τι τὸν νοῦν εἶχον.

6 Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν μὲν πεζῶν τοὺς Μακεδόνων τρεῖς τάξεις τοὺς τοξότας δὲ πάντας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας ἐξέλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰ ὄρη κατέχοντας Κίλικας. Καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς μὲν βίᾳ ἐξέλων, τοὺς δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ παραστησάμενος, ἐπανῆκεν ἐς τοὺς Σόλους.

7 Καὶ ἐνταῦθα μανθάνει Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Ἀνταλκίδαν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Ὀρόντου τοῦ Πέρσου, ὃς τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τῆς Λυκαονίας καὶ Μυσῶν καὶ Καύνου καὶ Ἴδης καὶ Καλλιπόλεως κατεῖχε, προσῆκτο δὲ καὶ Κῶ καὶ Τριοπίου. Τούτων ἕνεκα ἔδοξεν ἐμοὶ μάχῃ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἀγωνίᾳ μὲν τῶν ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὸν πεζῶν ἐς ἑξακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ἐλθεῖν, ἱππέας δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα,

8 ἄλλους δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν χιλίων. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν Σόλοις θύσας τε τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ πομπεύσας αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα, καὶ λαμπάδα ἀντιλαβὼν καὶ ἄγων διαθεῖν γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικὸν Σολεῦσι μὲν ἐπεμελήθη ἐοικότως· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναζεύξας ἐς Ταρσὸν τοὺς μὲν ἵππους

verse. In any case the general meaning was: "Sardanapalus son of Anakyndaraxes built Anchialus and Tarsus in one day,[1] do thou, stranger, eat and drink and be merry, since other human things are not worth this"—the idea being the hand-clap; and (it was said) the word 'be merry" had a less delicate original in the Assyrian

From Anchialus he reached Soli, he took a guard into Soli, and fined them two hundred silver talents, because they were still inclined towards Persia. Thence he took three battalions of the Macedonian infantry, all the archers, and the Agrianes, and marched upon the Cilicians who held the heights. In seven days—no more—he partly drove them out, partly received surrenders, and returned to Soli There he learnt that Ptolemaeus and Asandros had conquered Orontobates the Persian, who was guarding the citadel of Halicarnassus and held Myndus, Cannus, Thera, and Calipolis, and had won over also Cos and Triopium The message was that they had beaten him in a pitched battle with a loss of 700 of his foot and 50 cavalry, and at least 1000 prisoners. At Soli Alexander sacrificed to Asclepius, and held a review of his whole army, with a torch relay race and athletic and literary competitions. Soli he allowed to continue democratic. He then proceeded to Tarsus and sent the cavalry to Philotas, to take

[1] See Aristobulus ap. Strabo, p. 672, Athenaeus xii. p. 529. Arrian here seems to follow Ptolemaeus.

ἀντιστῆναι Φίλιππος δοὺς ἄνοιξε διὰ τοῦ Ἀλησθοῦ
b πεδίου ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πηνειόν· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς πεζοῖς καὶ τῇ ἵππῳ τῇ βασιλικῇ καὶ Μακεδόνων ἅπασι καὶ τῇ Ἀγημοῦ τῇ Μακεδονικῇ βίᾳ ἦλθεν· ἔνθεν δὲ τὴν Μυκάλην ἐφίσταται καὶ Ἀμφίλοχον ἅπασι ὁρᾶν ἔστησε καὶ στασιάζοντας κατακόπτων τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτῶν κατέπαυσε καὶ τοὺς φόνους οἷς Μακεδόσι Δαρεῖος ἐπέφερεν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Ἀργείων μὲν Μακεδόνες ἄποικοι ἦσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκ Ἄργους τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν εἶναι ἔφασκεν.

VI Ἔτι δὲ ἐν Μυκάλῃ ὄντι αὐτῷ ἀγγέλλεται Δαρεῖον ἐκ Σούσων ἤδη τῇ πᾶσῃ δυνάμει στρατοπεδεύειν. Ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος ἔστι μὲν τῆς Ἀσσυρίας γῆς, ἄπεχει δὲ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐς δύο μάλιστα σταδίους. Ἔνθα δὴ ξυναγαγὼν τοὺς ἑταίρους φράζει αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐξηγγελμένα ὑπὲρ Δαρείου τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς Δαρείου. Οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἄγουσι τὸν
7 λεπτὸν. Ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν στασιάσαντας αὐτῶν διέλυσε τῶν ξυλλόγων· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ πρόσεισιν ἐπὶ τὸν Δαρεῖόν τε καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. Δευτεραίους δὲ ὑστερίζουσιν τὰς πύλας ἐκπερατοῦσιν ἐπὶ Μυρικίῳ πόλει· καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ χειμὼν ἐπιγίγνεται σκληρὸς καὶ βίαιος· τό τε ὄρος καὶ πνεύματα βιαίως τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου.

8 Δαρεῖος δὲ καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἔξω τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐποιεῖτο, βουλόμενος τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν γῆν πᾶσαν ἀνασπάσασθαι καὶ τῷ τε πλήθει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπιτήδειον καὶ ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι τὴν ἵππον ξυμφόρως. Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ξυμβουλεύσαντες αὐτῷ μὴ ἀνελεῖν[1] Ἀμύντας ὁ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, ὁ παρ'

[1] Text B A' ἀνελεῖν which though not exact may well be original

them to the River Pyramus through the Aleian plain. Then he, with the infantry and the royal squadron, went to Magarsus and sacrificed to Athena of Magarsus. Thence he came to Mallus and made due offerings to Amphilochus, as a hero; he found the Mallians in civil commotion and put a stop to it, he remitted the tribute paid to Dareius, since Mallus was a colony of Argos, and he himself claimed descent from the Argive Heracleidae.

VI. Alexander was still at Mallus when a report came that Dareius with his full force was encamped at Sochi, a place in Assyrian territory, two marching days from the Assyrian Gates. Alexander therefore assembled his staff and told them the news of Dareius and his march, on which they urged him to lead straight on. He thereupon thanked them and dismissed the Council; and next day he marched as if to attack Dareius and the Persians. In two days he passed the Gates and camped near Myriandrus, and in the night there came a severe storm, heavy rain, and violent gale, which kept Alexander in his camp.

Dareius meanwhile dallied with his army, since he had selected a plain in the Assyrian land as being open all round, convenient for the multitude of his host, and suitable for the manœuvres of his horsemen. Amyntas son of Antiochus, a deserter from

Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτόμολον· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν πρὸς τοῦ πλήθους τε καὶ τῆς σκευῆς τῶν Περσῶν.
4 Καὶ ἔμενε Δαρεῖος. Ὡς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολλὴ μὲν ἐν Ταρσῷ τριβὴ ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ ἐγίγνετο, οὐκ ὀλίγη δὲ ἐν Σόλοις, ἵνα ἔθυέ τε καὶ ἐπόμπευε, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀρεινοὺς Κίλικας διατριψεν ἐξελάσαντι, τοῦτο ἔσφηλε Δαρεῖον τῆς γνώμης· καὶ αὐτός τε ὅτιπερ ἥδιστον ἦν δοξασθέν, ἐς τοῦτο σὺν ἀκουσίως ὑπήχθη, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' ἡδονὴν ξυνόντων τε καὶ ξυνεσομένων ἐπὶ κακῷ τοῖς ἀεὶ βασιλεύουσιν ἐπαιρόμενος ἔγνω μηκέτι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐθέλειν
5 προϊέναι τοῦ πρόσω, ἀλλ' ὀκνεῖν γὰρ πυνθανόμενον ὅτι αὐτὸς προσάγοι. κατεπατήσειν τε τῇ ἵππῳ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν στρατιὰν ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν αὐτῷ ἐπαίροντες ἐξέλεγον καίτοι[1] γε Ἀμύντας ἥξειν τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἰσχυρίζετο ὅποι ἂν πύθηται Δαρεῖον ὄντα, καὶ αὐτοῦ προσμένειν
6 ἐκέλευεν. Ἀλλὰ τὰ χείρω μᾶλλον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἥδιον ἀκοῦσαι ἦν, ἔπειθε· καί τι καὶ δαιμόνιον τυχὸν ἦγεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν χῶρον, οὗ μήτε ἐκ τῆς ἵππου πολλὴ ὠφέλεια αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, μήτε ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτοῦ τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἀκοντίων τε καὶ τοξευμάτων, μηδὲ τὴν λαμπρότητα αὐτὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπιδεῖξαι ἠδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εὐμαρῆ τὴν νίκην παρέδωκεν.
7 Ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἤδη καὶ Πέρσας πρὸς Μακεδόνων ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν ἀρχήν, καθάπερ οὖν Μῆδοι μὲν πρὸς Περσῶν ἀφῃρέθησαν, πρὸς Μήδων δὲ ἔτι ἔμπροσθεν Ἀσσύριοι.

[1] καίτοι γε B: [illegible] with probability. Arrian is fond in [illegible] of γε [illegible] yet does not use [illegible] these directly, but with some word interposed.

Alexander, advised him not to leave this country; there was, he said, elbow-room favourable for the numbers and the equipment of the Persians. Darius then abode where he was. But Alexander having spent much time in Tarsus on account of his illness, and a good deal at Soli, where he sacrificed and held the review, and again spent some days in his raid on the Cilician hillmen, all this delay made Darius waver in his decisions. Moreover, Darius' wishes generally coloured his thoughts, and he liked the pleasanter thoughts; and false courtiers, such as will always haunt kings, led him on to decide that Alexander had no wish to proceed further. In fact, they said, he was hesitating on hearing of Darius' own approach. On all sides they egged him on, telling him that he would trample underfoot the Macedonian force with his cavalry. Amyntas, however, persisted that Alexander would come wherever he found Darius to be, and bade him remain where he was. But it was the pleasanter, and so the worse, counsels which prevailed; moreover, some evil genius led Darius into the very position where his cavalry did not much help him, nor indeed his numbers, his store of javelins, and of archery; where he could make no display of the splendour of his army, but made a mere gift of the victory to Alexander and his force. Fate indeed had resolved that Persia should forfeit the sovereignty of Asia to Macedon, as Media had lost it to Persia, and Assyria, even earlier, to Media.

VII Ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ τὸ ὄρος Δαρεῖος τὸ κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς Ἀμανικὰς καλουμένας ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Ἰσσοῦ προῆγε· καὶ ἐγένετο κατόπιν Ἀλεξάνδρου λαθών. Τὴν δὲ Ἰσσοῦ κατασχών, ἔνθα δὴ νόσῳ ὑπολελειμμένους αὐτοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατέλαβε, τούτους χαλεπῶς αἰσθόμενος ἀπέκτεινεν· ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν προυχώρει ἐπὶ τὸν
2 ποταμὸν τὸν Πίναρον. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς ἡσυχίαν ἐν τῷ ὄπισθεν αὐτοῦ ὄντα [τὸν] Δαρεῖον, ὅπως οὐ πιστὸς αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος ἐφαίνετο, ἀναπεύσας ἐκ τριακοντόρου τῶν ἑταίρων τινὰς ἀποπέμπει ἐπὶ Ἰσσοῦ, κατασκεψομένους εἰ τὰ ὄντα ἐξαγγέλλεται. Οἱ δέ, ἀναπλεύσαντες τῇ τριακοντόρῳ ὅτι κολπώδης ἦν ἡ ταύτῃ θάλασσα, μᾶλλόν τι εἰστετὰς κατιμάθον αὐτοῦ στρατεύεσθαι ἔνοντας τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐν χερσὶν εἶναι Δαρεῖον.
3 Ὁ δὲ συγκαλέσας στρατηγοὺς τε καὶ ἰλάρχας καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν μὲν ἐς τὰ ἤδη σφίσι καλὰ ἐκπεπονημένων καὶ ὅτι πρὸς πεπονημένους ὁ ἀγὼν νενικήκοσιν αὐτοῖς ἔσται καὶ ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὑπὲρ σφῶν στρατηγεῖ ἄμεινον, ὅτι νεῶν Δαρεῖον ἀναγομένων παθεῖν τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τῇ εὐρυχωρίᾳ ἐς τὰ στενόπορα, ἵνα σφίσι μὲν ξυμμέτρου τὸ χωρίον ἀναπτύξαι τὴν φάλαγγα, τοῖς δὲ ἀχρείου τὸ πλῆθος ὅτι ἔσται τῇ μάχῃ, αὖτε τὰ σώ-
4 ματα αὖτε τὰς γνώμας παραπλήσιον Μακεδόνας τε γὰρ Πέρσαις καὶ Μήδοις, ἐς πολὺ πολλοῦ τρυφῶσιν, αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς πόνοις τοῖς πολεμικοῖς πολλὰ ἤδη μετὰ κινδύνων ἀσκουμένους, ἄλλως τε καὶ δούλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐλευθέρους, οἳ

VII Darius, then, crossed the height by the Amanian Gates and marched towards Issus and he stepped in unperceived behind Alexander. So long Issus he grievously mutilated and slew all the invalid Macedonians left behind there when he captured. Next day he advanced to the River Pinarus. Alexander hearing that Darius was in his rear, but not crediting the report embarked some of the territorials in a thirty oared ship and sent them back to Issus, to verify the report. Those who sailed in this vessel discovered the more easily the Persians encamping there since the coast takes the form of a bay and they reported to Alexander that Darius was at hand.

He summoning commanders, squadron leaders, and allied officers bade them be of good cheer in view of dangers successfully surmounted in the past, besides, the coming battle was to be between themselves, already proved victors, and the Persians, already once vanquished, more than that, heaven itself was a better strategist on their own side, having put it into Darius' mind to hem his force into the narrow pass leaving to them the open country behind so that they had a space of just the size for the deployment of their phalanx, while the Persians would have no benefit from their numbers, since their men and their resolution were no match for those of the Greeks. We Macedonians he continued, are to fight Medes and Persians, nations long steeped in luxury, while we have long been hardened by warlike toils and dangers, and above all it will be a fight of free men against slaves.

χείρας ἤδειν ὅσοι τε Ἕλληνες Ἕλλησιν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν μαχείσθαι ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ξὺν Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ μισθῷ καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο πολλῷ αἰσχυνουμένους, τοὺς δὲ ξὺν σφίσιν, ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
5 ἅπασι κινδυνεύοντας. Βαρβάρων τε αὖ Θρᾷκας καὶ Παίονας καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Ἀγριάνας τοὺς εὐρωστοτάτους τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ μαχιμωτάτους πρὸς τὰ ἀνοσιώτατά τε καὶ μιαιφονώτατα τῆς Ἀσίας ἠθῶν ἀντιτάξεσθαι ἐπὶ
6 δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀντιστρατηγὸν Δαρείῳ. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐς πλεονεξίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐποίει· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅτι μεγάλα ἦσαν σφίσι τοῦ κινδύνου ἐπεδείκνυεν. Οὔ γὰρ τοὺς σατράπας τοὺς Δαρείου ἐν τῷ τότε ἀρετῆσαι, οὐδὲ τὴν ἵππον τὴν ὑπὲρ Γρανικῷ ταχθεῖσαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐκμυρίους ξένους τοὺς μισθοφόρους, ἀλλὰ Περσῶν τε ὑστέρῳ ἄφελος καὶ Μήδων καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων ὑπήκοα ἐπωμοὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ αὐτὸν μέγαν βασιλέα παρόντα, καὶ ὡς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθήσεται σφίσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῷ ἀγῶνι ὅτι μὴ κρατεῖν τῆς Ἀσίας ξυμπάσης
7 καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πολλοῖς πόνοις ἐπιθεῖναι. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ τῶν τε ἐς τὸ πόνειν ξὺν λαμπρότητι ἕξιν πεποιημένων ὑπεμίμνησκε καὶ εἰ δή τῳ ἰδίᾳ τι διαπρέπει ἐς κάλλος τετελεσμένον, ἀναμνήσει ἕκαστον ὅτι τῷ ἔργῳ ἀναπαλαίει. Καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ σῶμα ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὡς ἀνεπαχθέστατα
8 ἑαυτῷ ἔχοι. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἐτεοφῶντος καὶ τῶν ἅμα Ἐτεοφῶντι μυρίων ἐς μνήμην ἐλθεῖν, ὡς οὐδὲν τι οὔτε κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἀξίωσιν σφίσιν ἐπόμενον ἵππευσιν αὐτοῖς παρεῖναι Θετταλῶν, οὐδὲ Βοιωτῶν ἢ

And so far as Greek will meet Greek, we shall not be fighting for like causes, those with Darius will risk their lives for pay, and poor pay too; our troops will fight as volunteers for Greece. As for our foreign troops, Thracians, Paeonians, Illyrians, Agrianes, the stoutest in Europe, and the most warlike, will be ranged against the feeblest and softest hordes of Asia: nay, further, you have an Alexander engaging in a duel of strategy against a Darius" Thus he drew out their superiority in the coming struggle; he showed that the stakes of their hazard were great too. It was not Darius' satraps of whom they were to be masters now, nor the cavalry that lined the Granicus, nor the twenty thousand foreign troops, but the flower of Medes and Persians and their subject nations in Asia; the Great King was there himself; nothing remained after this final struggle but to lord it over all Asia and set an end to their many heroic labours. Besides, he reminded them of all they had already achieved with brilliant success for their common cause; any noble individual act of bravery he cited, both the deed and the man, with some delicacy he mentioned his own personal risks in previous battles. He alluded, we are told, to Xenophon and his Ten Thousand, far below themselves in number or in repute, with no cavalry, neither Boeotian nor Pelo-

Πελοποννησίων, οὐδὲ Μακεδόνων ἢ Θρακῶν, οὐδ' ὅση ἄλλη σφίσιν ἵππος ξυνεστράτευεν, οὐδὲ τοξοτῶν ἢ σφενδονητῶν, ὅτι μὴ Κρητῶν ἢ Ῥοδίων ὀλίγων, καὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ὑπὸ Ξενοφῶντος αὐτοσχεδιασθέντων, οἱ δὲ βασιλέα τε ξὺν πολλῇ τῇ ἐλπίδι πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι αὐτῇ ἐστρέψαντο καὶ ἴδιη ὅσα ἄλλα κατώρθωσαν ὧν τῶν ἐξείνου πατέρων καθ' ὁδὸν σφίσιν ἐπεγένετο πολλῶν ἐνθλιβομένων τε ἄλλα ἐν τῇ τοιαύδε πρὸ τῶν αἰνδύνων ἐς παράληψιν ἀνδρασιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ ἡγεμόνος παραπλησίως εἰκός. Οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν δεξιούμενοι τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τῇ λαγχῇ ἐπαίροντες ἄγαν ἤδη ἐκέλευον.

V. 11 Ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν διατυποῦσθαι παραγγέλλει· πρωΐτερος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς πύλας τοὺς τε ἱππέων ὀλίγους καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν προκατασκήψομενος τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπίουσαν καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ νυκτὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ᾤχετο, ὡς κατασχεῖν αἴθις τὰς πύλας. Ὡς δὲ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐκράτησεν αἴθις τῶν παρόδων, ἀνίστησι τὴν στρατιὰν τὸ λοιπὸν τῇ νυκτὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν, προφυλακὰς ἀνὰ μέσας καταστησάμενος. Ἔνθα δὴ τὴν ἐπὶ κατηχὶ ἐπὸ τοῦ πύλου κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν πάντα στενότερα ἦν τὰ χωρία, ἐπὶ πέρην ἦγεν· ὡς δὲ διεῖχεν ἐπὶ πύλας, ἀνεστενάχισεν ἀεὶ τὸ πέρας ἐς φάλαγγα, ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην τῶν πυλιτῶν ταξιν παριὼν, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. Οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὸν πεζὸν τεταγμένοι ἦσαν· Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν προῆσαν, ἀνίστασαν ἤδη τὴν

[1] Δοῦναι Krüger. See on I. 11, 1.

ponnesian, neither Macedonian nor Thracian, nor such other horse as they now had, no archers nor slingers, save a few Cretans and Rhodians, and those hastily scraped together by Xenophon when in sore straits. Yet the Ten Thousand turned to flight the Great King himself at the very gates of Babylon, and marched victoriously against the various tribes which barred their way as they descended to the Euxine Sea, of all this he told them, and whatever else, at such a time, in face of dangers, a brave general would by way of encouragement tell brave men. They crowded round and clasped their king's hand, and cheering him to the echo bade him lead on.

VIII. For the moment, however, Alexander bade his troops take their meal, but he sent on towards the Gates a few horsemen and archers to reconnoitre the road that lay behind them; then he himself at nightfall with his whole force marched off to seize the Gates again. When, about midnight, he held the passes once more, he halted his army for the rest of the night on the crags, having carefully set outposts. Just upon dawn he descended from the Gates along the road, and as long as the narrows lasted he led in column, but when it grew broader he deployed his column into phalanx, bringing up battalion after battalion of men-at-arms, on the right, up to the ridge, on the left, to the sea. The cavalry so far had been ranged behind the infantry; but when they got into open ground, at once he

στρατιὰν ἐς τὴν μάχην, πρῶτους μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῶν πεζῶν τὸ τε ἄγημα καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Νικάνωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος, ἑπομένην δὲ τούτων τὴν Κοίνου τάξιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὴν Περδίκκου. Οὕτω μὲν ἔστη ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ
4 ἀρξάμενον τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου πρώτη μὲν ἡ Ἀμύντου τάξις ἦν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Πτολεμαίου, ἑπομένη δὲ ταύτῃ ἡ Μελεάγρου. Τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου τοῖς πεζοῖς μὲν Κρατερὸς ἐπετέτακτο ἄρχειν, τοῦ δὲ ξυμπάντος εὐωνύμου Παρμενίων ἡγεῖτο καὶ παρῄγγελτο αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπολείπειν τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς μὴ κυκλωθείησαν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὅτι πᾶσιν ὑπερφαλαγγήσειν αὐτῶν διὰ πλῆθος ἡμέλλον.
5 Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐξηγγέλθη αὐτῷ προσάγων ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὴν μάχην, τῶν μὲν ἱππέων διαβιβάζει πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Πινάρου ἐς τρισμυρίους μάλιστα τὸν ἀριθμόν, καὶ μετὰ τούτων τῶν ψιλῶν ἐς διςμυρίους, ὅπως τὴν
6 λοιπὴν δύναμιν καθ' ἡσυχίαν συνταξείη. Καὶ πρώτους μὲν τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἔταξεν ἐς τρισμυρίους κατὰ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τοὺς Καρδακοὺς καλουμένους ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐς ἑξακισμυρίους· ὁπλῖται δὲ ἦσαν καὶ οὗτοι. Τοσούτους γὰρ ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἁπλῆς ἐδέχετο τὸ χωρίον
7 ἵνα ἐτάσσοντο. Ἔπεταξε δὲ καὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου δεξιὸν ἐς δισμυρίους· καὶ τούτων ἦσαν οἱ κατὰ νοτου ἥκοντες τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιᾶς. Τὰ γὰρ ὄρη ἵνα ἐπεναχθήσαν τῇ μὲν διέχωρα ἐς βαθος

drew up his army in battle order; first on the right wing towards the mountain ridge, in front, he placed the picked infantry troops and his bodyguard, under Nicanor son of Parmenio, next to them Coenus' battalion, and then that of Perdiccas. These, right to left, stretched to the centre of the men-at-arms. On the left, first came Amyntas' battalion, then Ptolemaeus', and next Meleager's. Craterus was put in command of the infantry on the left, but Parmenio of the entire left wing, under orders not to edge away from the sea, lest the Persians should surround them, since from their great numbers they were likely to overlap the Greeks in extended line.

Darius for his part, when the approach of Alexander in battle order was reported to him, sent about 30,000 of his cavalry over the River Pinarus and 20,000 light infantry with them, that he might at his leisure deploy the rest. Foremost of his heavier troops he placed the Greek mercenaries, 30,000 of them, facing the Macedonian phalanx; next, on either side, 60,000 of the Kardakes, who were also heavy-armed troops; this was the number which the ground where they stood allowed to be posted in line. He stationed also about 20,000 by the ridge on his left to face Alexander's right; some of these actually got to the rear of Alexander's force, since the mountain ridge where they were posted opened here and there to some depth and

καὶ πολυτάλη τι αὐτοῦ ὄντερ ἐν θαλάσσῃ
ἐγίγνετο· ἔκειτο δὲ ἐπιπαμπὴν πρῶτον τοὺς ἐπὶ
τοῖς ὑπαρχίαις τεταγμένους αὐτοῖσι τοῦ δεξιοῦ
8 κέρως τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔπεσι. Τὸ δὲ ἄλλο
πλῆθος αὐτοῦ ψιλῶν τε καὶ σπλιτῶν, κατὰ ἴδνη
συντεταγμένον ἐς βάθος οὐκ ὀφέλιμον, ἐπεισθεν
ἦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν μισθοφόρων καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ
φάλαγγος τεταγμένου βαρβαρικοῦ. Ἔλεγετο γὰρ
ἡ πᾶσα ἡ ξὺν Δαρείῳ στρατιὰ μάλιστα δὲ
ἑξήκοντα μυριάδας μαχίμων εἶναι.
9 Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ, ὡς αὐτῷ πρόσω ἰοῦσι τὸ
χωρίον διέσχεν ὀλίγον ἐς πλάτος, παρῆγαγε τοὺς
ἱππέας, τοὺς τε ἑταίρους καλουμένους καὶ τοὺς
Θετταλοὺς καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας[1]· καὶ τούτοισι
μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρᾳ ἦρχε αὐτὸς τοὺς δὲ ἐς
Πελοποννησίους καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐπὶ τὸ
εὐώνυμον πέμπει ὁ Παρμενίων.
10 Δαρείου δὲ, ὡς συντεταγμένη ἤδη ἦν αὐτῷ ἡ
φάλαγξ τῶν ἱππέων ἀπέχουσα πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
ἐπὶ τοῦδε πρόσταξε ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς αὐτῷ ἡ
διάταξις τῆς στρατιᾶς γένοιτο, ἀναλαβεῖν ἐπὶ
ξυνθήματος. Καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ
τῷ δεξιῷ κέρᾳ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατὰ Παρ-
μενίωνα ἔταξεν ὅτι ταύτῃ μάλλον τι ἐπιτήδειον
ἦν μέρος ἐς τὸ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον πρὸς
11 τὸ ὄρη παρατεῖναν. Ὡς δὲ ἀχμὴν ἐντεῦθεν διὰ
στενότητα τῶν χωρίων ἐφαίνοντο, καὶ τούτων
τοὺς πολλοὺς παρεπεπόνει ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας
σφῶν διελαύνων. Αὐτὸς δὲ Δαρεῖος τὸ μέσον
τῆς πασσης τάξιος ἔσχε, καθάπερ νόμος τοῖς

[1] Who were these Macedonians if not troops? Some suggested Persians

had, in fact, bays like the sea; then trending outwards again it brought those posted on the heights to the rear of Alexander's right wing. The general mass of their light and heavy troops arranged by their territories and to an unserviceable depth was behind the Greek mercenaries and the Persian phalanx. Historians put Dareius' fighting force at some 600,000.

Alexander, however, finding the ground opening somewhat as he went forward, brought on his cavalry and the so-called "Comrades," the Thessalians, and the Macedonians. These all he posted with himself on the right wing; any Peloponnesians and other allies he sent to Parmenio on the left.

Dareius, his phalanx once in due order, recalled by signal such cavalry as he had thrown in front of the river to cover his deployment. Most of these he posted over against Parmenio on the right wing, by the sea, because it was rather better ground for cavalry; part, however, he sent to the left, near the hills. But as they proved useless there from want of space he ordered the greater number of them also to ride round to his right wing. Dareius himself held the centre of his whole host, the regular

Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι τεταχθαι· καὶ τὸν νοῦν τῆς τάξεως ταύτης Ξενοφῶν ὁ τοῦ Γρύλλου ἀναγεγραφεν.

IX Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος κατιδὼν ὀλίγου πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν Περσῶν ἵππον μετάσχημα ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὡς πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν αὐτῷ δὲ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους μόνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν ξυμμάχων ἱππέας ταύτῃ τεταγμένους, πέμπει κατὰ τάχος τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἱππέας ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κελεύσας μὴ πρὸ τοῦ μετώπου τῆς πάσης τάξεως παρατείνειν, τοῦ μὴ καταφανεῖς τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι μεταχωροῦντας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ νῶτα τῆς φαλαγγος ἀφανεῖς 2 διελθεῖν. Προσετάξε δὲ τῶν μὲν ἱππέων κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τοὺς προὶόντας, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Πρωτόμαχος, καὶ τοὺς Παίονας, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀριστῶν· τῶν δὲ πεζῶν τοὺς τοξότας, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀντίοχος· τοὺς δὲ Ἀγριᾶνας, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἄτταλος, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐς ἑπτακοσίους πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ κατὰ νῶτον ἔταξεν, ὅστε κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτῷ τὴν φαλαγγα ἐς δύο κέρατα διήκουσαν τεταχθαι, τὸ μὲν ὡς πρὸς Δαρεῖον τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ τοῦ παταμοῦ τοὺς πάντας Πέρσας, τὸ δὲ ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει κατὰ νῶτον σφῶν 3 τεταγμένους. Τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου προσταχθέντας τῶν μὲν πεζῶν οἵ τε Κρῆτες τοξόται καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Σιτάλκης· πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἡ ἵππος ἡ κατὰ τὰ εὐώνυμα. Οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι ξένοι πᾶσιν ὑπετάχθησαν. Ἔρρωτο δὲ οὕτε πυκνὴ αὐτῷ ἡ φαλαγξ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐφαίνετο· πολύ τε ταύτῃ ὑπερφαλαγγήσειν οἱ Πέρσαι ἔδοκουν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κελεύσαντος δύο ἴλας τῶν

position for Persian kings; Xenophon son of Gryllus has accurately described the general idea of this arrangement.[1]

IX Meanwhile Alexander, observing nearly all the Persian cavalry transferred to his left, resting on the sea, while he had only the Peloponnesians and the other allied horse on this side, despatched at full speed the Thessalian cavalry to the left, with orders not to ride in front of the line, so as not to be sighted by the enemy, but to pass quickly at the rear of his phalanx. But he pushed forward the cavalry patrols on his right, under Protomachus, and the Paeonians under Antiochus, the Agrianes under Attalus, some of the cavalry and of the archers, he threw back at an acute angle towards the foothills in his rear, so that on his right wing his line forked into two parts, one facing Darius and the main body of Persians across the river, the other towards the force posted in his rear in the hills. On the left wing, of the infantry, foremost were the Cretans and Thracians, under Sitalces, with the cavalry of the left wing in advance of these. The foreign mercenaries were distributed among all the troops. But as his line did not seem very solid on his right, and the Persians seemed likely to overlap them considerably there, he ordered from the centre two territorial squadrons and the squadron from

[1] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8. 21.

ἑταίρων, τήν τε Ἀνθεμουσιάν, ἧς ἦρχεν Ἡφαιστίων ὁ Μενοίτου, καὶ τὴν Λευκαίαν καλουμένην ἧς ἦγεν Πανταρβάτης ὁ Κλεάνδρου, ἔνθα
4 τὸ δεξιὸν ἄφαντον παρελθεῖν. Καὶ τοὺς τοξότας δὲ καὶ μέρος τῶν Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόρων ἔστιν οἷς κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔνι μετεώρου παραγαγεῖν ἐξετεῖναν ὑπὲρ τὸ τῶν Περσῶν κέρας τὴν φάλαγγα. Ὑπὲρ γὰρ οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὄρους τεταγμένοι οὔτε κατῆραν, ἐδεδοίκεσάν τε ἐς αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ὀλίγων κατὰ πρόσταξιν Ἀλεξάνδρου γεγενημένης βάσιος ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπωρείας ἀναστήσαντες ἐς τὸ ἄκρον ἀνέφυγον, ἅμα καὶ τοῖς κατ' αὐτοὺς τεταγμένοις δυνατὸς ὢν χρήσασθαι ἐς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῆς φαλαγγος ἐκείνοις δὲ πεντακοσίοις τριακοσίοις ἐπιτάξαι ἐξηρκέσεν.

X Οὕτω δὴ τεταγμένοις χρόνον μέν τινα προῆγεν ἀσπασίως, ὅσον καὶ ταχὺ ἐδόκει σχολαίως γενέσθαι αὐτῷ ἡ πρόσοδος· τοὺς γὰρ βαρβάρους, ὅπως τὰ πρῶτα ἐναχθήσαι, οὐκέτι ἀντέσχον Δαρεῖοι, ἀλλ' ἔνι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς ὄχθαις, πολλαχῇ μὲν ἀνεφρημένοις οὔσαις, ἔστι δὲ ὅπου καὶ χαράκα παρατεῖναν αὐταῖς, ἵνα εὐσφαλέστερα ἀμύνοντο, οὔτοι ἔμενον. Καὶ ταύτῃ εὐθὺς ὅπλοις ἐχώρουν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ
2 γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένοις. Ὅτι δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐνταῦθα παρῄνεσεν αὐτοῖς Ἀλέξανδρος παρελθὼν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι, οὐ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μόνον τὰ ὀνόματα ξὺν τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ μάχεσθαι ἀναλαβόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱππάρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς ὀνομαστὶ καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων ὅσοι κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἢ τινα ἀρετὴν γνωριμώτεροι

Anthemus, whose squadron leader was Peroedes son of Menestheus, and that called the Leugaean, under Pantordanus son of Cleander; the word being passed that they were to transfer unobserved to the right wing. The archers and some of the Agrianes and of the Greek mercenaries he led to the front of his right wing and so extended his line to outflank the Persian wing. For since the troops posted in the hills had not descended—nay, on a raid of the Agrianes and a few archers, at Alexander's order, they had been easily dislodged and had fled to the summit—Alexander understood that he could use those who had been posted to hold them in check to deepen his phalanx. To watch the hill troops he reckoned it enough to tell off three hundred horsemen.

X His forces thus marshalled, Alexander led them on for some time with haste, so that their advance seemed quite a leisurely affair. For Darius did not yet lead on the Persians, arrayed as at the first, but remained on the river banks, which were in many places precipitous, in some parts building up a stockade, where they appeared more accessible. It was here that Alexander's staff perceived Darius to be a man of no spirit. But when the two armies were close, Alexander riding along his front bade them be good men and true, calling aloud the names, with all proper distinctions, not only of the commanders, but even squadron leaders and captains, as well as any of the mercenaries who were conspicuous for rank or for any deed of valour. There

φασαν και αὐτῷ παρηγγυων βαδὴ ἀγεσθαι μὴ διαταραττειν, ἀλλα διαβαλλειν ἐς τους πολεμιους
3 ὡς δὲ ἦγεν ἐς ταξιν ἑκατ, τα μὲν πρωτα, καπερ ἐς απαντα ἤδη ἐχων την Δαρειου ἐνικαμιε βιαζεσθαι, τοῦ μη διασπασθηναι τι ἐς τὴ ξυστοιχιὴ τὴς φαλαγγος· ἐπι δὲ ἐπτου ἤδη ἀγεσθαι ἐκελευε, πρωτου δὴ ες κατ' Ἀλεξανδρον και αὐτου Ἀλεξανδρου ἐπι τοῦ δεξιου τεταγμενος ἐρωμῳ ἐς τον ποταμον ἐνεβαλλον ως τῇ τε οξυτητι τὴς ἐφοδου ἐκπλῆξαι τους Περσας και τον θασσον ἐς χειρας ελθοντας ὀλιγα πρὸς των ταξεων
6 βλαπτεσθαι. Και ξυνεβη ἐπως εἰκασεν Ἀλεξανδρος· εἰθυς γαρ ως ἐν χερσιν ἡ μαχη ἐγενετο, τρεπονται του Περσικου στρατευματος ες τὴ ἀριστερὴ κερᾳ ἐπιτεταγμενοι· και ταυτη μὲν λαμπρως ἐνικα Ἀλεξανδρος τε και οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες οι μισθοφοροι οἱ ἐν Δαρειῳ, ἢ διεσχε των Μακεδονων ἡ φαλαγξ ως ἐπι τὸ δεξιον κερας παρερραγισα, ὁτι Ἀλεξανδρος μὲν ἐπευσε ἐς τον ποταμον ἐμβαλων και ες χειρας ἐλθων τοις ἐναντιως τεταγμενοις των Περσων, οι δὲ κατὰ μεσον των Μακεδονων αὐτοι τῇ ἴσῃ ἐπευσὴ ἤϊξαντο τοῦ ἔργου και συλλαχὴ ἀπρομαχοις τοις ἐχθροις ἐντυγχανοντες το μετωπον της φαλαγγος οὐ δυνατοι ἐγενοντο ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ταξει διασπασθαι, ταυτα ἐμβαλλουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες τοις Μακεδοσιν ἢ μαλιστα διασπασειαν αὐτους τὴν φαλαγγα
8 κατειδον. Και το ἔργον ἐνταυθα καρτερον ἦν, των μὲν ἐς τον ποταμον ἀπωσασθαι τους Μακεδονας και τὴν σκηνὴν τοις ἤδη φευγουσι σφων ἀπασασθαι· των Μακεδονων δὲ τὴς τε Ἀλεξαν-

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came an answering cry to him from all sides to tarry no longer, but to charge the foe. He continued to lead on in line, at first slowly, though with Darius' force in full view, desiring that no part of the phalanx should fluctuate in the more rapid advance and so become disparted; but once within range, first Alexander's suite and himself too, in his post on the right wing, took the river at the double, in order to confound the Persians by the swoop of their attack, and by joining in the mellay the sooner to receive the less harm from the Persian archers. All fell out as Alexander had guessed. For the moment the battle joined, the Persian left gave way; and here Alexander and his immediate following scored a triumphant success. But Darius' Greek mercenaries, where the Macedonian phalanx showed a gap, having broken away to the right wing—for Alexander had flung into the river in hot haste—had come to blows with the Persians and were already driving them back at this point, while the Macedonian centre did not get to work with like enthusiasm, and finding the banks in many places steep could not keep their front unbroken—the Greeks, I say, at this point charged the Macedonians just where they saw the phalanx most agape. There the action was severe, the Greeks tried to push off the Macedonians into the river and to restore victory to their already retreating wing, but the Macedonians,

ἄρου ἤδη φαινομένης εὐπραγίας μὴ λειφθῆναι καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς φαλαγγος, ὡς ἀμαχου δὴ
7 ἐς τε τότε διαβεβλημένης, μὴ ἀφανισαι. Καὶ τι καὶ τοῖς γενεσι τῷ τε Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ Μακεδονικῷ φιλοτιμιας ἐνέπεσεν ἐς ἀλλήλους Καὶ ἐνταυθα πιπτει Πτολεμαιος τε ὁ Σελευκου, ἀνηρ ἀγαθος γενομενος, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς εἴκοσι μάλιστα καὶ ἑκατον τῶν οὐκ ἠμελημένων Μακεδόνων.

XI. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ αἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ταξεις, τεταραμένους ἤδη τους κατὰ σφας τῶν Περσῶν ὁρωντες, ὅτι τους ξένους τε τους μισθοφορους τους Δαρείου καὶ τὸ πονουμενον σφῶν ἀνακαμψαντες, ἀπο τε τοῦ ποταμου ἀπωσαντο αὐτους, καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρερρωγος τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατευματος ὑπερφαλαγγησαντες ἐς τὰ πλαγια
9 ἐμβεβληκότες ἤδη ἑκαστον τους ξένους· καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δὲ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν κατὰ τους Θεσσαλοὺς τεταγμένοι οὐκ ἔμειναν ἐντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλ' ἀνιππασαντες εὑρωστως ἐνέβαλλον εἰς τὰς ὅλας τῶν Θεσσαλῶν· καὶ ταυτῃ ξυνεστη ἱππομαχια καρτερα οὐδὲ πρόσθεν ἐνέκλινεν οἱ Πέρσαι, πριν Δαρεῖον τε πεφυγοτα ἤσθοντο καὶ πριν ἀπορραγῆναι σφῶν τους μισθο-
5 φορους συγκεντενται ὑπὸ τῆς φαλαγγος. Τοτε δὲ ἤδη λαμπρὰ τε καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἡ φυγὴ ἐγιγνετο· καὶ οἵ τε τῶν Περσῶν ἵπποι ἐν τῇ ἀναχωρησει ἱδρωσπάθουν, βαρεως ἀπλισμένους τους ἁμβατας σφῶν φεροντες, καὶ αὐτοι οἱ ἱππεῖς, κατὰ στενὰς ὁδους πληθει τε πολλοι καὶ πεφοβημένοι συν ἀταξίᾳ ἀποχωροῦντες, οὐ μᾶλλον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων κατεπατουμενοι ἢ πρὸς τῆς διωξεως

seeing Alexander's success assured, did not mean to be a whit behind, nor to suffer any eclipse of their prestige and their proud title of "invincible." There arose also a racial rivalry between Greeks and Macedonians. Here it was that Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus fell, a good man and true, and about a hundred and twenty distinguished Macedonians.

XI Now the battalions on the right wing, seeing the Persians opposed to them already turned back, inclined towards Dareius' mercenaries and their own hard-pressed centre, and drove these from the river, and then overlapping the now broken Persian left, by an oblique move, attacked and were in a trice cutting down the mercenaries. However, the Persian cavalry posted opposite to the Thessalians did not keep their ground on the river bed in the action, but crossed manfully and charged the Thessalian squadrons, and here there was a desperate cavalry fight; the Persians did not give way till they saw Dareius in flight and till their mercenaries were cut off, mowed down by the phalanx. But then the rout was open and universal. The Persian horses suffered much in the retreat, with their riders heavily armed, while the riders too, hurrying by narrow roads in a crowded horde, in terror and in disorder, were as much damaged being ridden

τῶν πολεμίων ἐβλάπτοντο. Καὶ οἱ Θετταλοὶ αὐτοῦ μένοντες αὐτοὺς ἐπεκράτουν, ἕως οὐ μείζων ἡ τῶν πεζῶν φυγὴ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἐγίγνετο.

6 Δαρεῖος δὲ, ὡς αὐτῷ τὰ πρῶτα ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφοβήθη τὸ κέρας τὸ εὐώνυμον καὶ ταύτῃ διαφορηγνύμενον κατεῖδε τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοπέδου, εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχε καὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων ξὺν τοῖς πρώτοις
8 ἔφευγε. Καὶ ἕως μὲν ὁμαλοῖς χωρίοις ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἐπετύγχανεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁρμάτων διεκομίζετο· ὡς δὲ ἀφικνεῖτο καὶ ἄλλας διεσχισμένας ἐπέκρους, τὰ μὲν ἅρματα ἀπέλιπεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸν κάνδυν ἐξέδυνε· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ τόξον ἀπέλιπεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁρμάτων, αὐτὸς δὲ ἵππου ἐπιβὰς ἔφευγε· καὶ ἡ νὺξ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἐπιγενομένη ἀφεῖλετο
9 αὐτὸν τὸ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἁλῶναι. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἕως μὲν φανὸς ἦν διὰ τάχους ἐδίωκεν· ὡς δὲ συνεσκίαζε τε ἤδη καὶ τὰ πρὸ ποδὸς ἀφανῆ ἦν, ἐς τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐπεστρατεύετο· καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὰ μέντοι ἅρματα τὰ Δαρείου ἔλαβε καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν κάνδυν καὶ τὸ
7 τόξον. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ δυὰξ βραδύτερα αὐτῷ ἐγίγνετο, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ παραρρήξει τὴν φάλαγγα διατρήσας καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ προσθεν ἐς τὰ δίωκειν ἐτράπετο, πρὶν τοὺς τὰ μαθοφόρα τοὺς ξένους καὶ τὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἵππικὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπωσθέντας κατεῖδε.

5 Τῶν δὲ Περσῶν ἀπέθανον Ἀρσάμης μὲν καὶ Ῥεομίθρης καὶ Ἀτιζύης τῶν ἐκ Ῥαπσακῆνων ἡγεμονευόντων τοῦ ἱππικοῦ· ἀπέθνῃσκε δὲ καὶ Σαβίακης ὁ Λυγγώτου σατράπης καὶ Βουβάκης τῶν ἀτίμων Περσῶν· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος οἱ δεινὰ μαλιστα

[1] τῶν δὲ ἀλ- a conjecture mentioned by Krüger

over by one another as by their pursuers The Thessalians stoutly pressed them, and there was as much slaughter in the cavalry as in the infantry flight.

Darius, for his part, the moment his left wing was panic-stricken by Alexander and he beheld it thus cut off from the rest of his army, fled just as he was in his chariot, and in the van of the fugitives. So long as he found level ground, he found safety in his chariot, but when he met defiles and other difficulties, he left his chariot and threw away his shield and his outer mantle, nay, left even his bow in the chariot, and fled on horseback, night, speedily falling, saved him from becoming Alexander's captive. For Alexander pursued with all his might as long as daylight held; but when it grew dark and he could not see his way, he turned back towards the camp, taking, however, Darius' chariot, and with it his shield, bow, and mantle. The fact is that his pursuit was the slower, since he had wheeled back at the first breaking through of the phalanx and had not himself turned to pursue till he had seen the mercenaries and the Persian cavalry driven back from the river.

Of the Persians fell Arsames and Rheomithres and Atizyes of the cavalry commanders on the Granicus; Sabakes the satrap of Egypt, and Bubakes, of the Persian nobles, as for the rank and file, some 100,000,

μεμάθηκε καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἐπαινῶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μειρακίου, ὅστε λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ξυνεπισπόμενος τότε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τοὺς μετὰ σφῶν διωκομένους Δαρείου, ὡς καὶ φαρέτρῃ τινὶ ἐν τῷ διώξει ἐχρῆτο, ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν διαλέξαι τὸν φαρέτρᾳ. 8 Τὸ τε στρατόπεδον τὸ Δαρείου εὑρὲν ἐξ οὗπερ ἄλλοι καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ, αὐτή τε καὶ ἀδελφὴ Δαρείου, καὶ υἱὸς Δαρείου νήπιος καὶ θυγατέρες δύο ἄλλαι καὶ ἄλλαι ἀμφ' αὐτὰς Περσῶν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν γυναῖκες οὐ πολλαί· Οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τὰς γυναῖκας σφῶν ξὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ κατα- 10 σκευῇ ἐς Δαμασκὸν ἔτυχον ἀπεληλυθότες ἔτι καὶ Δαρείῳ τῶν τε χρημάτων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄλλα μεγάλα βασιλεῖ ἐς πολυτελῆ διαίτην καὶ στρατευομένῳ ἅμα συνίστασθαι πεπομφὼς ἐς Δαμασκὸν, ὅστε ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι οὐ πλείονα ἢ τριακόσια τάλαντα ἁλῶναι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν Δαμασκῷ χρήματα ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἁλόντα ὑπὸ Παρμενίωνος ἐπ' αὐτὰ τοῦτα στάλεντος. Τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῇ μάχῃ ἐπῆλθε γενέσθαι ἔτει ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Νικοκράτους μηνὸς Μαιμακτηριῶνος.

XII Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ, καίπερ τετρωμένου τοῦ μηροῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ξίφει, ἃ δὲ τοῖς τραύμασιν ἐπῆλθε καὶ τοῦ πόνου ξυνεσπομένου ἠθῶσι μεγαλοπρεπῶς ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει πᾶσῃ ἐπιτετιμημένῃ λαμπρύνεται ἐπὶ τε πολέμοις καὶ λόγῳ τοῖς ἐπιτετιμημένοις δοὺς τὰ διαπρέποντα ἔργων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἢ αὐτὸς ξυνεγνω ἢ πρεσβευτὴς ἢ ἄλλῳ συμφόνως μόνοις ἅμαθε· καὶ χρημάτων ἐνίοις καὶ τιμωρίαις 12 ξὺν τῇ ἀξίᾳ ἐτίμησε. Καὶ Κλεῖτον μὲν ἀνεβόλησεν ἐπὶ στρατηγὸν Βάλακρον τὸν Νικάνορος ἕνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τῶν βασιλικῶν· αὐτὶ δὲ

among which were over 10,000 cavalry, so that Ptolemaeus son of Lagos, who then was with Alexander, says that the pursuers of Darius meeting a deep gully in the pursuit crossed it on bodies of the dead. Darius' camp was stormed and captured, with his mother, wife, who was sister also of Darius, and his infant son; two daughters also were taken, and in their suite some few noble Persian ladies. For the other Persians had sent their women-folk and baggage to Damascus, Darius too had sent thither the greater part of his money and all else that goes along with a great king, even on campaign, to meet his extravagant way of living; they found, therefore, in the camp not above three thousand talents. Yet even this wealth at Damascus was captured soon after by Parmenio, who was specially detailed to do so. So ended this battle, fought in the archonship at Athens of Nicocrates and in the month Maimakterion.[1]

XII. Next day, despite a sword wound in his thigh, Alexander went round to see the wounded; and the dead he gathered together and gave them a splendid military funeral, the whole army marshalled in their finest battle array. He praised all who, by his own personal witness, or by the agreed report of others, he knew had done valorous deeds in the battle, these one and all he honoured by a donation suitable to their desert. He appointed as satrap of Cilicia Balacrus son of Nicanor, one of the royal

[1] November 331.

τούτων δὲ τοὺς σωματοφύλακας κατέλεξε Μίνητα τὸν Διονυσίου ὅστις δὲ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σελεύκου τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῇ μαχῇ Πολιορκητοῦ[1] τὸν Σιμμίου ἄρχοντα ἀνεῖλε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τάξεως. Καὶ Δαρείου τὰ τε κειμήλια τάλαντα ἑξακόσια ἦν δὲ τῶν ἐπιβληθέντων αὐτῷ χρημάτων ὄντως καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους ἀπέδωκεν

3 Ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ τῇ μητρὶ τῇ Δαρείου οὐδὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἢ τῶν παίδων ἁμίλλησεν. Ἀλλὰ λέγουσί τινες τῶν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου γραψάντων, τὴν νύκτα αὐτὴν ἣ ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως τῆς Δαρείου ἐφαπτόμενον ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν παρελθόντα αὐτὸν τὸν Δαρεῖον. ἔτυχε αὐτῷ ἐξηρτημένη ἅμ. ἀκοῦσαι γυναικῶν ὀμωγῆς καὶ ἄλλον τοιοῦτον θορύβου οὐ

4 φόρου τῇ σκηνῇ συνθεσθαι· οὐδὲ αἵτινες γυναῖκες καὶ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἄγγελος παρασταθεὶς καὶ τινα ἐξαγγεῖλαι, ὅτι, Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἡ μήτηρ τε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Δαρείου καὶ οἱ παῖδες, ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη αὐταῖς ὅτι τὰ τόξα τὰ τοῦ Δαρείου ἔχεις καὶ τὸν κανδύν τὸν βασιλικὸν καὶ ἡ ἀσπὶς ὅτι ἐκκέκλασται σπίσω ἡ Δαρείου, ὡς ἐπὶ τεθνεῶτι Δαρείῳ

5 ἀνιῶνται. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα Ἀλεξάνδρου πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὰς Λεοννάτον, ἕνα τῶν ἑταίρων, ἀπαγγεῖλαι φράσαι ὅτι ζῇ Δαρεῖος· τὰ δὲ ὅπλα καὶ τὸν κανδύν ὅτι φεύγων ἀπέλιπεν ὅτι τῷ ἅρματι καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι μετὰ ἔχει Ἀλεξάνδρου. Καὶ Λεοννάτον παρελθόντα ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν τά τε περὶ Δαρείου εἰπεῖν καὶ ὅτι τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτοῖς ἐγγυᾶται Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου κόσμου καὶ καλεῖσθαι βασιλίσσας, ἐπεὶ

[1] Πολιορκητοῦ A and inscriptions despite which no editor seems certainly correct. The edd. Πολιορκητῆ.

bodyguard; and chose to take his place in the guard Menes, son of Dionysius; and in place of Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus, who had fallen in the fight, he appointed Polysperchon son of Simmias commander of his battalion. To the citizens of Soli he remitted the fifty talents still due from the fine he had imposed, and restored their hostages.

Nor did he neglect Dareius' mother, queen, or children. Some of the biographies of Alexander relate that the night after his return from the pursuit of Dareius he entered Dareius' pavilion, which had been put aside for his own use, and heard a lamentation and other confused sound of women's voices near the pavilion; he enquired what women they were and why they were accommodated so near him, and was told, "Sire, it is Dareius' mother, wife, and children, hearing that you possess his bow and the royal mantle and that his shield has been brought back, they are wailing for him as dead." Alexander thereupon sent Leonnatus to them, one of the Companions, bidding him tell them that Dareius still lived; that he while escaping left his arms and mantle in the chariot, and that Alexander had no more than these. Leonnatus entered the tent and gave Alexander's message about Dareius, adding that Alexander granted them the right of royal state and all other marks of royalty, with the title

οὐ κατὰ ἔχθραν οἱ γενέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς
Δαρεῖον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀσίας
6 διαπολεμωθῆναι ἑτέροις. Ταῦτα μὲν Πτολε-
μαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος λέγουσι· λόγος δὲ ἔχει
καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ μητρὶ παραλύειν
εἶναι ξὺν Ἡφαιστίωνι μόνῳ τῶν ταύρων καὶ
τὴν μητέρα τὴν Δαρείου, ἀμφοτέροις ἐοῦσιν
ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶη αὐτοῖς, ἑταίροις γὰρ ἄμφω τῷ
αὐτῷ σώματι, τὸν δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνι προσκυνῆσαι καὶ
προσεννέπειν ὅτι μείζων [αὐτῇ] εἴφανε ἑαυτοῦ
7 Ὡς δὲ ὁ Ἡφαιστίων τὸ σχῆμα ὑπεχώρησε καὶ
τὸ τῶν ἄμφ' αὐτῷ, τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου δείσας,
ἐπίστευσεν εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρον, τὴν μὲν ἀπατεῶνα
θέσιν τῇ διαφορᾷ ὑπεχώρει, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ
οὐ φάναι αὐτὸν ἁμαρτεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον εἶναι
8 Ἀλεξάνδρου. Καὶ ταῦτα ἔγωγε οὐδ' ὡς ἀληθῆ αὐτὰ
ὡς ἔστιν ἔτι ἱστορῶ ἀναγράψαι. Ἀλλ' εἴτε αὐτὸν
ἐπῄνεσε Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆς τε ἐς τὴν γυναῖ-
κα κατιστίσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν ταῦρον τιμῆς
εἴτε καὶ ἄθυμον δοκοῦν τὸν ξυγγράφειν
Ἀλεξάνδρου ὡς καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τροφῇ καὶ αὐτὸν,
καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ταῦρον Ἀλεξάνδρου.

XIII Δαρεῖον δὲ τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα ξὺν ὀλίγοις
τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἔφυγε τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπαλαμβάνουσιν
ἐπὶ τῶν τε Περσῶν τοὺς διασῳζομένους ἐς τὴν
μάχην καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων, ἐς
τετρακισχιλίους ἔχοντα τοὺς πάντας, ὡς ἐπὶ
Θάψακον τὸν πόλιν καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποτα-
μὸν σπουδῇ ἤλαυνεν, ἐς ταχίστα μέσον αὐτὸν
τε καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Εὐφράτην ποιήσας.

of genuineness of the blood since he had made war with Dareius from no personal enmity but had legitimately fought for the sovereignty of Asia. This is the account of Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus; there is however a story that Alexander himself next day visited the tent with Hephaestion alone of his suite and Dareius' mother mistaking the king (for both were accoutred alike) approached Hephaestion and prostrated herself before him, for he appeared the taller. Hephaestion however withdrew and one of the Queen-mother's attendants pointing to Alexander said that he was the king, whereupon she also withdrew in confusion at her mistake, Alexander remarking that she had made no error, for Hephaestion was also an Alexander.[1] This I have recorded not as necessarily true nor yet altogether untrustworthy. If it so happened I have nothing but praise for Alexander for his compassion towards these women, and for his thus trusting and honouring his comrade; if it is the sort of thing that the historians thought Alexander would have said and done and hence they accept it, I still have nothing but praise for Alexander.

XIII. Dareius meanwhile fled through the night with a handful of his suite; but in the daylight he kept picking up such Persians as had got off safe from the battle and also some of the foreign mercenaries; and with a body of about 4000 in all he rode at full speed to the River Euphrates, meaning to put the river between Alexander and himself as

[1] Presumably Alexander referred to the etymology of his name, a derivation of which (see p. 9, note 1) would best suit the context, a protector of mankind. Hephaestion was his alter ego.

2 Ἄμυντας δὲ ὁ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Θυμώνδας ὁ Μεντόρου καὶ Ἀριστομένης ὁ Φιλείου καὶ Βιάνωρ ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, ξυμπαντες αὐτοὶ αὐτομολοι, μετὰ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς στρατιωτῶν ὡς ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλιων ἀνδρῶν ὡς τεταγμενοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ δρος φευγοντες ἀφικοντο ἐς Γαυσλιν τῆς Φοινικης
3 καὶ ἐνταυθα καταλαβοντες τὰς ναῦς πανωλεμενους ὑφ' ὧν προσθεν ἐκ Λέσβου διαπεπομπευμενους ἦσαν, τουτων δὲ ὅσοι μὲν ἐκαστοι ἐφιστᾶσι ἐς τὴν κομιδὴν εἶδοσαν, τουτους καθελκυσαντες, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις κατασεισαντες, ὡς μὴ παρασχοίη τάχιστα ἐφ' ὧν τὴν δίωξιν, ἐπὶ Κύπρου ἴφιγον καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἵνα περ ἄλλοτε βασιλεῖ πολυπραγμονων τι Ἄμυντας ἀπεθανατωσεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωριων.

4 Φαρναβαζος δὲ καὶ Αὐτοφραδατης τίσιν μὲν περὶ τῆς Χιων διατριβὴν κατασησαντες δὲ φρουρὰν τῆς Χιου τὰς μὲν τιμὰς τῶν νεῶν ἐς Κῶ καὶ Ἀλικαρνασσὸν ἐπεστειλαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ ταις ἀριστα πλεουσαις ἀναγομενοι ἐς Σίφνον κατεσχον. Καὶ παρ' αὐτους ἀφικνεῖται Ἄγις ὁ (των) Λακεδαιμονιων βασιλευς ἐπὶ μιας τριηρους, χρηματα τε αἰτησων ἐς τὸν πολεμον καὶ δυναμιν ναυτικὴν τε καὶ πεζικὴν ὅση πλειστη ἀξιωσων συμπεμψαι σφισιν ἐς τὴν Πελο-
5 ποννησον. Καὶ ἐν τουτῳ ἀγγελια αὐτοῖς ἔρχεται τῆς μαχης τῆς πρὸς Ἴσσῳ γενομενης· ἔπλα γοντες δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐξηγγελθεντα Φαρναβαζος μὲν αὖν δυοδεκα τριηρεσι καὶ τῶν μισθοφορων ξυν χιλιοις καὶ πεντακοσιοις ἐπὶ Χιου ἀνηγε, δεισας μή τι πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελιαν τὴν
6 ἥττης οἱ Χιοι νεωτερισωσιν. Ἄγις δὲ παρ'

soon as might be. Amyntas, however, son of Antiochus and Thymondas son of Mentor and Aristomedes of Pherae and Bianor the Acarnanian, all deserters to Darius, with their troops to the number of 8000, when posted in battle formation, fled straight to the hills and reached Tripolis in Phoenicia [1] There they picked up the ships which had been hauled ashore; the same ships which had brought them from Lesbos. They launched as many of these as they thought enough for their convoy; the rest they burnt in the dockyards, to avoid a speedy pursuit, and made for Cyprus and thence to Egypt, where a little later Amyntas, stirring up trouble, was killed by the Egyptians.

Meanwhile Pharnabazus and Autophradates for their part had been waiting at Chios; they had appointed a guard for Chios, and they now sent part of their fleet to Cos and Halicarnassus; they themselves with the hundred swiftest ships put to sea and arrived at Siphnus. Agis king of Sparta met them there with a single trireme to beg for funds for the war and to ask that as many ships and men as possible should be sent to him in the Peloponnese. Just at this moment came the news of the battle of Issus. Utterly dumbfounded at the news, Pharnabazus with twelve triremes and fifteen hundred of the mercenaries made for Chios, fearing lest the Chians, on the news of the defeat, might rebel. Agis, meanwhile, getting thirty silver talents

[1] A city on a spur of Mt. Lebanon.

Αὐτοφραδάτου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου λαβὼν τριακόσια καὶ τρισχίλια ἄκλα, ταῦτα μὲν Ἴππιαν ἄξοντα ἀποστέλλει παρὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀγησίλαον ἐπὶ Ταινάρου καὶ παραγγέλλει Ἀγησιλάῳ, δόντα τοῖς ναύταις ἐντολὴν τοῦ μισθοῦ πλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ Κρήτης, ὡς τὰ ἐκεῖ καταστησόμενον. Αὐτὸς δὲ τότε μὲν αὐτοῦ διέτριβε τὸν χειμῶνα· ἔαρος δὲ ἀρχομένου παρ' Αὐτοφραδάτην ἀφίκετο.

7 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ στρατὸν μὲν Συρίᾳ τῇ κοίλῃ Μένωνα τὸν Κηρδίμμα ἐπέταξε δοὺς αὐτῷ ἐς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας τοὺς τῶν ξυμμάχων ἱππέας· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Φοινίκης ἦει. Καὶ ἀπαντᾷ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Στράτων ὁ Γηραιστράτου παῖς τοῦ Ἀραίσιον τε καὶ τῶν Ἀράβων πρόσω βασιλεύσαντος· ὁ δὲ Γηραιστράτος οὗτος μὲν Αὐτοφραδάτου ἦλθε ἐκ τῶν πολῶν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ οἱ τῶν Κυπρίων βασιλῆς καὶ
8 αὐτοὶ Αὐτοφραδάτῃ ξυνεστήκεσαν. Στράτων δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐντυχὼν στεφανοῖ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ αὐτόν, καὶ γῆν τε Ἀράβων αὐτῷ τὴν πρόσω καὶ τὴν Μαραθὸν τὴν καταντικρὺ τῆς Ἀράδου δίδωσιν· τῇ δὲ ἠπείρῳ ταύτῃ πόλιν, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, καὶ Σίγωνα καὶ Μαραθοῦν πόλιν καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα τῆς σφῶν ἐπαρχίας ἐνέβαλεσεν.

XIV Ἔτι δὲ ἐν Μαράθῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντος ἥκουσιν παρὰ Δαρείου πρεσβεῖς ἐπιστολὴν τε κομίζοντες Δαρείου καὶ αὐτοὶ ἅπερ γλώσσῃ ἐπιστάμενοι ἀφίξεσθαι Δαρείῳ τὴν μητέρα καὶ
9 τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας. Ἐλέχθη δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ὅτι Φιλίππῳ τε πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην φιλία καὶ ξυμμαχία ἦσαν καὶ σταθὴ Ἄρσῃ

from Autophradates and ten triremes, despatched Hippias to take them to his brother Agesilaus at Taenarum. He ordered him to tell Agesilaus to pay the crew in full and sail by the shortest route to Crete, to put all there in order. But Agis remained there for the present among the islands, joining Autophradates later at Halicarnassus.

Alexander appointed as satrap of Lowland Syria Menon son of Kerdimmas, giving him, to garrison the country, the allied cavalry. He himself went towards Phoenicia. On his way Straton son of Gerostratus met him, he was sheik of Arabians and those near Arados, Gerostratus sailed with Autophradates, and the rest of the princes of Phoenicia and the kings of the Cyprians sailed with him too. But Straton meeting Alexander crowned him with a golden crown, yielding up to him the island of Arados and Marathus which lay opposite it on the mainland, a great and prosperous city, with Sigon and Mariamne and all else under his sway.

XIV While Alexander was yet at Marathus, envoys reached him from Dareius, bringing a letter from him, and themselves under orders to beg Alexander to release to Dareius his mother, wife, and children. The letter ran: Philip and Artaxerxes were in peace and alliance, and when Arses son

ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρταξέρξου ἐβασίλευσεν. ἐπὶ Φίλιππος
ἐδίωξεν πρῶτος ἐς βασιλέα Ἀρσην ἦρξεν οὐδὲν
ἄχαρι ἐς Περσῶν παθών· ἐξ οὗ δὲ αὐτὸς
βασιλεὺς Περσῶν, οὔτε πέμψας τινὰ Ἀλέξαν-
δρου παρ' αὐτὸν ἐς βεβαίωσιν τῆς πάλαι οὔσης
φιλίας τε καὶ ξυμμαχίας, διαβὰς τὸν ξὺν
στρατιῇ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ ἐργασά-
3 θας Πέρσας. Τούτου ἕνεκα κατιδὼν αὐτὸς
τῇ χώρᾳ ἀμυνῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρῴαν
ἀνασωσόμενος. Τὴν μὲν δὴ μάχην ὡς θεὸς τῷ
βουλομένῳ ἔδοξεν, οὕτω ἀριθμεῖται· αὐτὸς δὲ βασιλεὺς
παρὰ βασιλέως γυναῖκα τε τὴν αὐτοῦ αὐτεῖν καὶ
μητέρα καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἄλλους, καὶ φιλίαν
θέλειν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ
ξυμμαχεῖν εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων
πέμψειν ἤξειν Ἀλεξάνδρου παρ' αὐτὸν ξὺν
Μαζαίῳ τε καὶ Ἀρσιμῇ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τοῖς ἐκ
Περσῶν ἥκουσι τοὺς τὰ πιστὰ λῃψομένους τε
καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὀμοσοντας.
4 Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιγράφει Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ
ξυμπέμπει τοῖς παρὰ Δαρείου ἐλθοῦσι Θερσιπ-
πον, παραγγείλας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δοῦναι Δαρείῳ,
αὐτὸν δὲ μὴ διαλεγεσθαι ὑπὲρ μηδενός. Ἡ δὲ
ἐπιστολὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὧδε ἔχει· "Οἱ ὑμέτεροι
πρόγονοι ἐλθόντες εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν
ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα κακῶν ἐποίησαν ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν
προηδικημένους· ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμὼν
κατασταθεὶς καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι βουλόμενος
Περσῶν διέβην ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὑπαρξάντων ὑμῶν.
5 Καὶ γὰρ Περινθίοις ἐβοηθήσατε, οἳ τὸν ὑμὸν
πατέρα ἠδίκουν, καὶ οἷς Θρᾴκην, ἣν ἡμεῖς ἤρχο-
μεν, δύναμιν ἐπέμψατε· ἦρχε δὲ πατρὸς

of Artaxerxes became king, Philip took the first wrong step towards King Arses, having suffered no ungracious treatment at his hands. But since Darius had been King of Persia, Alexander had sent no envoy to him to confirm this ancient friendship and alliance, but had actually crossed in full force into Asia and had done much harm to the Persians. Darius therefore had come down to defend his country and to save his ancestral sovereignty. The battle had gone as some god had willed it, but he, a king, begged from a king his captive mother, wife, and children; and was ready to make friendship and an alliance with Alexander; and for these things he begged Alexander to send to him along with Meniscus and Arsames, the envoys from Persia, duly authorised persons to receive sureties from him, and to give him sureties from Alexander.

Alexander replied to this, sending with Darius' envoys Thersippus, bidding him deliver the letter to Darius, but to discuss no point with him. This is how Alexander's letter runs: "Your ancestors invaded Macedonia and the rest of Greece and did us much harm, though we had done none to them; I have been duly appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Greeks, and invaded Asia desiring to take vengeance on Persia, but it was you who began the mischief. You assisted Perinthus, which wronged my father; and Ochus sent a force into Thrace, which is under our sovereignty. My father was

ἀναβάσεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιβουλευσαντων, οὐδ' ὑμῖν συνεταξατο, ως αὐτὸς τε των ἐπιτηδείων πρὸς ἄνεσιν ἐκπονησατο καὶ Ἀρραβίῳ ἀνεστηκοτι ἐπὶ μετὰ Βαγῶου, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχοντι οὐ δικαίως οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν Περσῶν νομον, ἀλλὰ ἀδικουντος Περσας καὶ ὑπερ ἡμῶν πρὸς τους Ἕλληνας γράμματα οὐκ ἐπιτηδεια διατιθεμενου, ὅτως πρὸς με πολεμησει, καὶ χρήματα ἀνωστελλοντος πρὸς λοιπους καὶ ἄλλους τινας τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλον πολεμου οὐδεμιᾶς δεχομενους, λοιπους δὲ λαβοντος καὶ τοὺς παρὰ σοῦ πεμφθεντας τοὺς ἐμοὶ φίλους διαφθειραντος καὶ τὴν εἰρηνην ἣν τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατεστησαμεν διαλυειν ἐπιχειροῦντος, ἐστρατευσα ἐπὶ σε, ἐναρξαντος σου τῆς ἁδικίας. Ἐπει δὲ μαχῃ πεντακις προτερος μὲν τοῦ σοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ σατράπας, σὺν δὲ καὶ σε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ σοῦ δυναμει, καὶ τὴν χωραν ἔχω, τοὺς θεοὺς μοι δοντας. Ὅσοι τῶν μετὰ σου παρατεταγμενων μὴ ἐν τῇ μαχῃ ἀπεθανον, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐμὲ κατεφυγον, τούτων ἐπιμελουμαι καὶ οὐδὲν ἧσσον παρ' ἐμοὶ εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἑκοντες ξυστρατευονται μετ' ἐμοῦ. Ὅτι οὐδ' ἐμοῦ τὴν Ἀσιαν ἀνακτωμενου ἐμοὶ δοτε δικας πρὸς ἐμε. Ἐν δὲ φιλῇ μὴ ἐλθωμεν πωποτε τι δέ ἐμου ἔχων, νεωτα τινὰ τῶν φιλων τὰ πιστὰ λαμβανομενος. Ἐλθων δὲ πρὸς με τὸν μητρὸς καὶ τὴν γυναικα καὶ τοὺς παιδας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ σὰ ἕξεις αὖτις καὶ λαμβανε. Ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν πωποτε ἐμὲ δεηθῃς, οὐκ ἀποστερησω. Καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν ὅταν πεμπτῳ παρ' ἐμε, ως πρὸς βασιλέα τὴν Ἀσιας πεμψω, μηδὲν ἧσσον ἐπιστελλε, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνεστιν ἐντιμοτατα

murdered by conspirators, whom you instructed, as you yourselves boasted in your letters before all the world, you assassinated Arses with the help of Bagoas,[1] and seized the throne unjustly and, according to Persian law illegally doing grievous wrong to Persians, you sent improper letters to the Greeks about me, urging them to declare war upon me. You despatched sums of money to the Lacedaemonians and certain other Greeks, and when no other city received these, save the Lacedaemonians, and when your envoys corrupted my friends and sought to destroy the peace I had made in Greece, I took up arms against you, but it was you who started the quarrel. And whereas I conquered in battle first your generals and satraps and now yourself and your own force and held the country by the gift of heaven I hold myself responsible for all of your troops who did not die in the field but took refuge with me, indeed they are with me of their own free will and of their will serve in my army. Regard me then as Lord of all Asia and come to me. If you fear lest by coming you may receive some ungracious treatment at my hands, send some of your friends to receive proper pledges. When you come to me, request and receive your mother, wife and children, and what you will. You shall have whatsoever you persuade me to give. And in future when you send, send to me as Supreme Lord of Asia, and do not direct what you require as on equal terms, but tell me, as lord of all your possessions,

[1] Alexander means inaccurately. Bagoas apparently murdered Arses to place Darius on the throne, later attempting to murder him as well, but with his own poison, being compelled to drink the poison himself.

τῶν σῶν φράζε εἴ τον δεῖ· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐγὼ βουλευσομαι περὶ σοῦ ὅτι ἂν ἀδικοῦντος. Ἐς δ' ἀντιλεγοντα περὶ τῆς βασιλείας, ὑπομένειν ὅτι ἀγωνοῖτο περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ μὴ φεύγειν, ἐπ' ἴσῃ ἐπὶ σὲ παρευσόμενος οὐδὲν ἧσσον.

XV. Πρὸς μὲν Δαρεῖον ταῦτα ἐπιστείλαν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθε τὰ τε χρήματα ὅσα σὺν Κώφῃ τῷ Ἀρταπάζου ἀποστόμφει εἰς Δαμασκὸν Δαρεῖος ὅτι ἐάλωκε καὶ ὅσοι Περσῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὰ ἡγεμονεύσαντες ξὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ βασιλικῇ κατασκευῇ ὅτι καὶ οὗτοι ἐάλωσαν, ταῦτα μὲν σφίσιν ἀσμένοισι τὰ Δαμασκοῦ Παρμενίωνα φυλάσσειν
2 ἐκέλευε. Τοὺς δὲ πρεσβεῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἳ πρὸς Δαρεῖον περὶ τῆς μάχης ἀφίγμενοι ἦσαν, ὅτι καὶ τούτους ἁλῶναι ἔμαθε, παρ' ἑαυτὸν ποιήσων ἐκέλευεν. Ἦσαν δὲ Εὐθυκλῆς μὲν Σπαρτιάτης, Θεσσαλίσκος δὲ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ Διονυσόδωρος Ὀλυμπιονίκης, Θηβαῖος, Ἰφικράτης δὲ ὁ Ἰφικράτους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, Ἀθη-
3 ναῖος. Καὶ οὗτοι ὡς ἦσαν παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, Θεσσαλίσκος μὲν καὶ Διονυσόδωρος, καίπερ Θηβαίοιν ὄντες εὐθὺς ἀφῆκε, τὸ μὲν τι κατοικτίσας τοὺς Θηβαίους, τὸ δὲ ὅτι ξυγγενεστὰ δεδράκεσαν ἐφίσιν τοῖσδε· ὑπερπεσόντος ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων τῆς πατρίδος σφίσι τὰ ἥκιστα ἠδύναντο ὠφέλειαν εὑρέσθαι καὶ εἴ τῃ τινα καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ἐς
4 Περσῶν καὶ Δαρείου ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοῖν ἐπιεικῆ ἐνθυμηθεὶς ἐῶ· ὁ δὲ Θεσσαλίσκου μὲν αἰδοῖ τοῦ γένους ἀφῆκεν εἶναι, ὅτι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Θηβαίων ἦν. Διονυσόδωρον δὲ ὅτι τῇ πάλῃ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων Ἰφικράτην δὴ φίλῳ τε τῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολέως καὶ μνήμῃ τῆς δόξης τοῦ

if you have need of aught, otherwise I shall take steps concerning you as a misdemeanant. If you claim your kingdom, stand your ground and fight for it and flee not, since I will pursue you whithersoever you go."

XV. This was Alexander's letter to Darius. As soon as he learned that the moneys which Darius had sent with Cophen son of Artabazus to Damascus had been seized, and that all the Persians left to guard them with the rest of the royal equipage had been seized also, he bade Parmenio take the spoil back to Damascus and guard it there. But as for the Greek envoys who had reached Darius before the battle, when he learned that these also were captured he ordered them to be sent to him. They were Euthycles the Spartiate, Thessalicus son of Ismenias, and Dionysodorus, Olympian victor, of Thebes, and Iphicrates son of Iphicrates the general, of Athens. When these envoys reached Alexander he at once dismissed Thessalicus and Dionysodorus, Thebans though they were, partly from compassion for Thebes and partly because it seemed that they had acted pardonably, since their city had been enslaved by Macedonians, and they were looking for what help they could get for themselves and for their country too from Darius and Persia. Alexander therefore took a kindly view of the doings of both; but privately he said that he released Thessalicus from regard for his family, since he was one of the Theban nobles, and Dionysodorus because of his athletic victory at Olympia. Iphicrates, from friendship for Athens and remembrance of his father's

πατρὸς ζῶντά τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐτίμησε καὶ νεκρὸν τελευτήσαντος τὸ ὀστοῦν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τοῖς παροῦσι γένους ἀπέπεμψεν.
5 Εὐδυκλέα δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων τὰ ὅπλα, πολλῶν περιφανῶς ἀγθρῶν ἐν τῷ τότε, καὶ αὐτὸν αὐδὲν ἧσσον ἐπιφανόμενον ἐς ξυγγνώμην ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ λόγου ἄξιον, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν φυλακῇ ἄδεσμον εἶχεν· ὕστερον δὲ ὅπως μεγάλα εὐτύχει, καὶ τοῦτον ἀφῆκεν.
6 Ἐκ Μαράθου δὲ ὁρμηθεὶς Βύβλου τε λαμβάνει ὁμολογίᾳ ἐνδοθεῖσαν, καὶ Σιδῶνα, αὐτῶν Σιδωνίων ἐμπεπλεσμένων κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Περσῶν καὶ Δαρείου. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ προυχώρει ὡς ἐπὶ Τυρον· καὶ ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρέσβεις Τυρίων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἱσταλμένοι ὡς ἐγνωκότων Τυρίων πρᾶσσειν ἤ τι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλῃ
7 Ἀλέξανδρος. Ὁ δὲ τήν τε πόλιν ἐπῄνεσας καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις (καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐν Τύρῳ οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Τυρίων παῖς αὐτοὶ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀζεμίλκος μετ' Αὐτοφραδάτου ἔπλει), ἐκέλευσεν ἐπανελθόντας φρᾶσαι Τυρίοις ὅτι βούλεται παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν θῦσαι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ.

XVI. Ἔστι γὰρ ἐν Τύρῳ ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους παλαιότατον ἐν μνήμῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ διασωζόμενον, οὐ τοῦ Ἀργείου Ἡρακλέους τοῦ τῆς Ἀλκμήνης· πολλαῖς γὰρ γενεαῖς πρότερον τιμᾶται ἐν Τύρῳ Ἡρακλῆς, ἡ Κάδμον ἐκ Φοινίκης ὁρμηθέντα Θήβας κατασχεῖν καὶ τὴν παῖδα Κάδμῳ τὴν Σεμέλην γενέσθαι, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς Διόνυσος
8 γίγνεται. Διόνυσος μὲν δὴ τρίτος ἂν ἀπὸ Κάδμου εἴη, κατὰ Λαβδάκου τὸν Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου

fame, he retained about his person with especial honour; when at last Iphicrates died he sent his bones to his relatives at Athens. Euthycles, however, as a Lacedaemonian, citizen of a city of bitter hostility to him at the moment, and unable to produce any reasonable claim to pardon, at first he kept under open arrest; but later, when successes crowded in upon him, he released him also.

Alexander marched from Marathus and received the surrender of Byblus, Sidon also, invited by the Sidonians themselves, who loathed Persia and Darius. Thence he proceeded towards Tyre, and on the way Tyrian envoys met him, sent by the community to say that Tyre had decided to accept Alexander's orders. He commended both the city and its envoys—for they were not only Tyrian nobles but numbered among them the son of their king, who himself was at sea with Autophradates' fleet—and bade them return and tell the Tyrians that he proposed to come to Tyre and sacrifice to Heracles.

XVI There is, you must know, at Tyre the most ancient temple of Heracles[1] of which there is any record; not the Argive Heracles, son of Alcmena; for Heracles was honoured at Tyre many generations before Cadmus sailed from Phoenicia, occupied Thebes, and had a daughter Semele, mother of Dionysus son of Zeus. For Dionysus would appear to be in the third generation from Cadmus, in the line of Labdacus son of Polydorus, son of Cadmus;

[1] Known as Melcarth.

παῖδα Ἡρακλῆι δὲ ὁ Ἀργείων κατ' Οἰδίποδα μάλιστα τὸν Λαΐου Σιβύσσαι δὲ καὶ Λιγυστίνοι ἄλλον Ἡρακλέα, οὐχ ὅντιν' Τύριοι ἢ Ἕλληνες. 3 Ἀλλὰ λέγει Ἡρόδοτος ὅτι τῶν δυοῖν θεῶν Ἡρακλέα ἔγνωσαν Λιγυστίνοι, κἀδόκουν καὶ Ἀθηναίοι Διονύσου τὸν Διὸς καὶ Κόρης σέβουσιν, ἄλλον τούτων Διονύσου· καὶ ὁ Ἴακχος ὁ μυστικὸς τούτῳ τῷ Διονύσῳ, οὐχὶ τῷ Θηβαίῳ ἀνῴδεται. 4 Ἐν τοῦ γε δὴ Ταρτησσοῦ πρὸς Ἰβήρων τιμώμενον Ἡρακλέα, ἵνα καὶ στῆλαι τινες Ἡρακλέους ὀνομαζόμεναι εἰσί, δοκῶ ἔγωγε τὸν Τύριον εἶναι Ἡρακλέα ὅτι Φοινίκων στόμα ἡ Ταρτησσὸς καὶ τὸν Φοινίκων νεὼν ἐν τε νεωτέροις τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ἐκεῖ καὶ αἱ θυσίαι 5 θύονται. Γηρυόνην δέ, ἐφ' ὅντινα ὁ Ἀργείων Ἡρακλῆς ἐστάλη πρὸς Εὐρυσθέως τὰς βοῦς ἀπελάσαι τὰς Γηρυόνου καὶ ἀγαγεῖν ἐς Μυκήνας, οὐδέν τι πρὸς ταῦτα τῇ γῇ τῶν Ἰβήρων Ἐρυθείαν ὁ λογοποιὸς λέγει· οὐδὲ ὅτι νῆσόν τινα Ἐρυθείαν ἔξω τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης ἀπολιπὼν Ἡρακλῆς, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἠπείρου τῆς πρὸς Ἀμβρακίαν τε καὶ Ἀμφιλοχοὺς βασιλέα γενέσθαι Γηρυόνην καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτης ἀπελάσαι Ἡρακλέα τὰς βοῦς, οὐδὲ τούτων φανλον ἆθλον τιθέμενον. 6 Οἶδα δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ εἰς ταῦτα ὅτι εὐβοτον τὴν ἤπειρον ταύτην καὶ βοῦς τροφεύσαν καλλίστας· καὶ ὅτι Εὐρυσθεῖ τῶν μὲν ἐξ Ἠπείρου βοῶν κλέος ἀφίχθαι καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἠπείρου τὸ ὄνομα τὸν Γηρυόνην· οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος τιθέμενοι τὸν δὲ ἐκ γαίης τῆς Εὐρωπίης Ἰβήρων εἶναι· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ ὄνομα γεγονέναι Εὐρυσθεῖ, οὗτοι οἱ βοῦς κλαὶ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ τῇ

while the Argive Heracles was probably in the line of Oedipus son of Laius. The Egyptians worship another Heracles, different from the Heracles of Tyre and Greece. Hecataeus says that the Egyptians reckon him one of the Twelve Deities, just as the Athenians worship a different Dionysus son of Zeus and Kore. It is to him, not the Theban Dionysus—that the mystic chant "Iacchus" is sung. So also I think that the Heracles honoured at Tartessus by the Iberians, where are the "Pillars" named of Heracles, is the Tyrian Heracles, since Tartessus is a Phoenician possession, and the temple to the Heracles there has been built in the Phoenician style and the sacrifices are offered in Phoenician ritual. Geryones, moreover, to whom the Argive Heracles was sent by Eurystheus, to raid the oxen of Geryones and bring them to Mycenae, has no connection with Iberia, at least as Hecataeus the Chronicler says, nor, according to him, was Heracles sent to some island Erythea beyond the Great Sea, but rather that Geryones was king of the mainland round Ambracia and Amphilochi, and that from the mainland here Heracles drove off the oxen, and that was in itself achievement enough. What I do know is that even now this part of the mainland is capital pasture and rears excellent oxen, and I reckon it quite likely that Eurystheus got wind of the fame of these mainland oxen and of the name of the king Geryones, but I feel sure that Eurystheus would have no knowledge of the name of the king of the Iberians, right at the ends of Europe, nor whether there were fine cattle or not in those

νέμονται, εἰ μή τις τὴν Ἥραν τούτοις ἐπάγων, ὡς αὐτὴν ταῦτα Ἡρακλεῖ δὲ Εὐρυσθεὺς ἐπαγγέλλουσαν, τὸ οὐ πιστὸν τοῦ λόγου ἀποκρυπτέσθω ἔθέλοις τῷ μύθῳ.

7 Τούτῳ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Τυρίῳ ἔφη ἐθέλειν θύσαι Ἀλέξανδρος. Ὡς δὲ ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα πρὸς τῶν πρεσβέων ἐς τὴν Τύρον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔδοξέ σφισι ποιεῖν ὅ τι περ ἐπαγγέλλει Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐς δὲ τὴν πόλιν μήτε τινὰ Περσῶν μήτε Μακεδόνων δέχεσθαι, ὡς τοῦτο ἔκ τε τὰ παρόντα τῷ λόγῳ εὐπρεπέστατον καὶ ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν αἴρεσιν, δῆλον ὅτι οὖσαν, ἀσφαλέστατόν 8 σφισι γησομένων. Ὡς δὲ ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ ἐς τῆς Τύρου, τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐποίεῦτο ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ συναγαγὼν τούς τε ἑταίρους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ ταξιάρχας καὶ ἰλάρχας ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

XVII. "Ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἡμῖν οὔτε τὴν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον πορείαν ἀσφαλῆ ἀρῶ, θαλασσοκρατούντων Περσῶν, Δαρεῖόν τε διωκειν ὑπολιπομένους[1] αὐτήν τε ὄπισθεν τὴν τῶν Τυρίων πολιν ἀμφίβολον καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον ἔχομένας πρὸς Περσῶν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀσφαλὲς ἔς τε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ἐς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ 9 πράγματα, μήπως' ἄρα ἐπειρατήσαντες αὐθις τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ χωρίων οἱ Πέρσαι, προχωρησάντων ἡμῖν ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ὡς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνά τε καὶ Δαρεῖον, αὐτοὶ ξὺν πλείονι στόλῳ μεταγαγόμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Λακεδαι-

[1] ὑπολιπ- Sintenis, and A as emda. Here, however, the aorist is clearly more precise.

parts, unless anyone cares to bring in Hera, as passing on the news of them to Heracles through Eurystheus, and thus veil by the myth the general unlikeliness of the tale.

It was to this Tyrian Heracles that Alexander said he wished to sacrifice. When this was announced at Tyre by the envoys, the Tyrians were prepared to obey all Alexander's other behests, but would have no Persian nor Macedonian within their city, for this resolve they felt to be most honourable for the present and safest for the future, looking at the yet uncertain issue of the war. When Alexander received this answer he angrily sent back the envoys, but assembling the Companions and the commanders of the army, with battalion and squadron commanders, he made the following speech.

XVII. "My friends and allies, so long as Persia is supreme at sea I cannot see how we can march in safety to Egypt. Nor, again, is it safe to pursue Darius, leaving in our rear the city of Tyre, of doubtful allegiance, and Egypt and Cyprus still in Persia's hands, especially in view of the state of Greek affairs. There is a fear lest the Persians, again seizing the coast places, when we have gone in full force toward Babylon and Darius, should with a larger army transfer the war into Greece,

μενίου μὲν δὴ τοῦ σύθεος ἡμῖν πολεμοῦντος, τῆς δὲ Ἀθηναίων πολεως φοβῷ μᾶλλον τι ἢ σύνεσι τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰ παρὸν κατεχομένης.
3 Ἐξαιρεθείσης δὲ Τύρου ἢ τε Φοινίκη ἔχοιτο ἂν πᾶσα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑπερ πλεῖστον τε καὶ κρατιστον τοῦ Περσικοῦ, τὸ Φοινικικὸν παρ' ἡμᾶς μεταχωρήσειν εἰκος· οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξονται οὔτε οἱ ἵπποι οὔτε οἱ ἐπιβάται Φοινίκες, ἐχόμενοι σφίσι τῶν πολεων, αὐτοὶ ὑπερ ἄλλων πλειστον κινδυνεύσειν. Κύπρος δὲ ἅπασα ἢν ταχὺ ἢ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἡμῖν προσχωρήσει ἢ ἐξ ἐπιπλου εὐμαρῶς ληφθήσεται.
4 Καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ μὲν καὶ ταῖς Φοινίκεσσι πλείστων ἡμῶν τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ Κύπρου ἅμα προσγενομένης, θαλασσοκρατοίμεν τε ἂν βεβαίως καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον στόλος εὐμαρὴς ἡμῖν ἂν ταὐτῇ γίγνοιτο. Αἴγυπτος δὲ παρεστησαμένοις ὑπερ τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς οἰκοι σφῶν ἔτι ὑποπτεύειν ὑπολειποιτο, τόν τε ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος στόλον μετὰ τοῦ τε τὰ οἰκοι ἀσφαλοῦς καὶ ξὺν πολλῷ ἅμα ἀξίωσει ποιησόμεθα, ἀναστειλαμένοις τὴν τε θάλασσαν Περσῶν ξυνωφελῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῦτα τοῦ ἐπιφόρτου γῆν.

XVIII Ταῦτα λέγων οὐ χαλεπως ἔπεισεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῇ Τύρῳ· ἀλλὰ καὶ τι θεῖον ἐπέπνευσεν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἐνυπνίων αὐτῇ δεούσῃ τῇ νυκτὶ δόξαι αὐτοῖς μὲν τῷ τείχει προσαγειν τὸν Τυρίων τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα δεξιοῦσθαι τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναγειν ἐς τὴν πολιν. Καὶ ταῦτα ἐξηγεῖτο Ἀριστανδρος ἐπ' ἔῳ πορῳ ἀλισκομένης τῆς Τύρου, ὅτι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔργα ἐπ' ἔῳ πορῳ
2 ἐγένετο. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ μεγα ἔργον τῆς Τύρου ἡ πολιορκια ἐφάνετο. Νῆσος τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ

where the Lacedaemonians are at the moment fighting us and Athens is kept in its place for the present by fear rather than goodwill towards us. But with Tyre once destroyed Phoenicia would all be held, and the best and strongest part of the Persian navy, the Phoenician element, would most probably come over to us. For neither the rowers nor the marines of Phoenicia will have the courage, if their cities are in our hands, to sail the sea and run its dangers for the sake of others. After this Cyprus, moreover, will either come readily to our side or be captured easily by a naval raid. Then if we hold the sea with our Macedonian ships, and the Phoenician navy too, and with Cyprus ours, we should firmly hold the sea-power, and in virtue thereof our expedition to Egypt would be easy. Then, when we have possession of Egypt, we shall have no cause for uneasiness for Greece and our own home and we shall make the expedition to Babylon, with security at home and with our enhanced prestige, with the whole sea cut off from Persia and all the country this side of Euphrates.

XVIII With words like these Alexander easily won over his staff to the attack on Tyre, and he had an omen to help him, for in a dream that night he found himself approaching the wall of Tyre, and there was Heracles stretching out to him his right hand and conducting him into the city. Aristandrus interpreted the dream thus: Tyre would be taken, but with much toil, for toil was the mark of Heracles' achievements. The plain fact is that anyone could see that the siege of Tyre would be a big business. The city was an island, and strengthened all round

πόλις ἦν καὶ τείχεσιν ὑψηλοῖς πάντῃ ἠσφαλτο· καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρὸς τῶν Τυρίων μᾶλλον τι ἦν τῇ τότε τέφρωσις, τῶν τε Περσῶν ὅτι θαλασσοκρατούντων καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Τυρίους τοῦτο ὅτι πολλὰ πεποιήκασιν.

2 Ἐς δὲ ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπαρατήσει, χῶμα ἔχετε χωννύναι ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου ἐς ὅσον τὴν πόλιν. Ἔστι δὲ πορθμὸς τετταράκοντα τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῇ ἠπείρῳ τῆς θαλάσσης βαθέα καὶ πηλώδη αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, ὅσῳ τὸ βαθύτατον τοῦ διαύλου, τριῶν μάλιστα ὀργυιῶν τὸ βάθος. Ἀλλὰ λίθων τε πολλῶν ἐφέδρανα ἦν καὶ ὕλης ἤρτισται τοῖς λίθους ἄνωθεν ἐπιφορεῦν· χαράκες τε οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐν τῷ πηλῷ κατεπηγνύντο καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πηλὸς ξυνδήσει τοὺς
4 λίθους ἐς τὸ ἐπιμανὲς ἐτίγνετο. Καὶ προθυμία τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς τὸ ἔργον καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου πολλὴ ἦν, παρόντος τε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστα ἐξηγουμένου καὶ τὰ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπαίροντος, τὰ δὲ καὶ χρήμασι τοὺς τι ἐκπρεπέστερον κατ' ἀρετὴν πονουμένους ἐπιτιθέντος. Ἀλλ' ὅσον μὲν τὸ πρὸς τῇ ἠπείρῳ ἐχώννυτο, οὐ χαλεπῶς προυχώρει τὸ ἔργον ἅτε βάθος τε ὀλίγον χωννυμένοις καὶ
5 οὐδένος ἐξεργόντος. Ἐς δὲ τὸ βαθύτερον ἤδη ἐπέλαζον καὶ ἅμα τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ ἔτιγνε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἀπὸ τε τῶν τειχῶν ὑψηλῶν ὄντων, βαλλόμενοι ἐκακοπάθουν, ἅτε καὶ ἐπ' ἔργασίᾳ μᾶλλόν τι ἢ ἐς μάχην ἀφειδῶς ἐσταλμένοι, καὶ ταῖς τριηρέσιν ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ τοῦ χώματος ἐπιπλέοντες οἱ Τύριοι, ἅτε δὴ θαλασσοκρατοῦντες ὅτι, δύσαρκτοι πολλαχῇ τὴν προσχωσιν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐποίουν.
6 Καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες συργοῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος,

with high walls, moreover, any movements from the seaward side were in Tyre's favour as the Persians were still supreme at sea and the Tyrians had plenty of ships left.

But Alexander's arguments, none the less, winning the day, he decided to build a mole from the mainland to the city. At this part is a shallow strait, towards the mainland are shallows and patches of mud, but next the city where is the deepest part of the crossing is a depth of about three fathoms. But there was plenty of stones and wood, which they heaped above the stones, then it was easy to fix stakes in the mud, and the mud itself made a good and safe binding for the stones. The Macedonians were eager for the work, and Alexander too, he was himself present, explained each step, and encouraged the workers, besides rewarding with a gift those who did any specially good work. As long as the building of the mole was near the mainland, the work went on without difficulty, for the depth was not great for the structure, and no one hindered. But when they got into deeper water and also nearer the city, they were in great distress by reason of volleys from the high walls, since the workers were clad rather for work than for warfare; and the Tyrians sailing up in their triremes on this side and on that, being still masters of the sea, made in many places the building up of the mole impossible for the Macedonians. On this the Macedonians built two towers above the mole, which had

ὃ τειχος προσεχωρησεν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολυ τῆς θαλασσης, ἐνιστησαν δυο και μηχανὰς ἐπι τοῖς πυργοις. Προσκλινηματα δὲ ἦρουν και διφθεραι αὐτοις ἦσαν ὡς μητε τοξευμασι βλασσειν ἀπο τοῦ τειχους βαλλεσθαι τους τε ἐργαζομενους προβαλλον ἐν τῷ αὐτῳ εἶναι πασι τα τειχισματα. Ἅμα τε δοκει προσκλινεντες των Τυριων ἑλκυσειν τους χωννυντας ἀπο τῶν πυργων βαλλομενοι οὐ χαλεπως ἀποσπασεσθαι ἐμελλον.

XIX. Οἱ δὲ Τυριοι προς ταυτα ἀντιμηχανωνται τοιοῦδε. Ναῦν ἱππαγωγον πληρωσαντες τῶν ξηρῶν και ἄλλης ὕλης εὐφλεκτου ἐμπλησαντες δυο ἱστους ἐπι τῇ πρῳρᾳ κατεπηγνυσαν, και ἐν κυκλῳ περιφρασσουσιν ὡς ὑψιστου μακρητου, ὡς φορτου τε ταυτη και βᾶσιν ὅσοι πλεοντας δεξασθαι πρὸς δὲ πισσαν τε και θειον και ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς τὸ παραπλησιως μεγαλην φλογα ἐπι ταυτῃ ἐμ-
2 φοσησαν. Παρετειναν δὲ και κεραιαν ἑκατερωθεν ἐπι τοῖς ἱστοις ἀμφοτεροις και ἀπο ταυτῃ ἐξηρτησαν ὡς λεβητα ὃν ὅσα ἐπιχεθεντα ἢ ἐπιβληθεντα ἐπι μεγα την φλογα ἐξυψειν ἐμελλον ἁρπατα τε ἐκ των πρυμνων ἐνθεσθαι τοῦ ἐξαρας ἐς ὕψος την πρῳραν πεπυρωμενη κατὰ πρυμνας
3 τῆς νεως. Ἔπειτα ἄνεμου πνεοντος ἐπι τὸ χωμα ἐνηφεροντο, ἐξαψαντες πρότερον τῶν νεῶν ἑκατερωθεν εἷλκον. Ἡς δὲ ἐπελαζον ἤδη τῷ τε χωματι και τοῖς πυργοις, πυρ ἐμβαλοντες ἐς την ὕλην και ἐκ βιαιοτατα ἅμα τοις πρωραισιν ἐπαναλυσαντες την ναῦν ἐνεπιπτον ἅμα τῷ χωματι· αὐτοι δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ νηι κατοκωκυ ἤδη
4 ἐξεπιπτον οὐ χαλεπῶς. Καὶ ἐν τουτῳ ἡ τε φλοξ πολλη ἐνεπιπτε τοῖς πυργοις και οἱ στρατιωται ἐφ

now run far over the sea, and engines on the towers; they placed hides and skins to cover them, so that they could not be pelted with fire-darts from the wall, and that the builders might have also a screen against arrows; besides, any Tyrians who rowed up and tried to damage the builders of the mole, receiving volleys from the towers, would probably be easily repulsed.

XIX. The Tyrians, however, took counter steps thus; they filled a cavalry transport with dry boughs and a good deal of other combustible wood, fixed two masts in the bows, and built high bulwarks round, extending as far as possible, so as to contain as many chips and shavings and torches as possible; to say nothing of pitch, sulphur, and anything else to stir a great blaze, which they liberally added. Then they lashed a double yardarm to each mast, and from it hung, in cauldrons, anything which either poured or thrown on would increase the flame, and they ballasted the stern to lift the bows as high as possible by the weight aft. Then they waited for a wind blowing towards the mole, and making fast hawsers towed the transport astern with triremes. When they came near the mole and the towers, they lighted the material and as violently as possible hauled with the triremes and dashed the ship on the edge of the mole. The crew of the ship, already burning fiercely, easily swam off. Soon

παρελαυθείσαι ἐξέχεαν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ὅσα δὲ ἔμφυτα τῇ φλογὶ παρεσκευασμένα ἦν. Οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν τριήρων πλησίον τοῦ χώματος ἀνασωζόμενοι ἐτοξεύοντο ἐκ τοῦ πυργίσκου, ὡς μὴ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τοῖσι Φοίνιξι ὅσοι ἐπιστήμονες τὰ τῇ φλογὶ ἐπιφέρειν. 6 Καὶ οἱ τοῦτο κατεσκευάσαντο· ἥλω δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς τῶν πυργίων, ἐκβαίνοντες ἐκ τῶν πύλεων σφίσι καὶ ἐκ κεκλιτῶν ἐμβάντες ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐνεπίμπλαντο τοῦ χώματος τοῦ τε χώρακα οὐ χαλεπῶς διεσώσαν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ προβεβλημένων καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ξυμπάσας κατεφλέξαν ὅσας μὴ τὸ ἄνω 6 τῆς σοὺς πυρὶ ἔσχεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τό τε χῶμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου ἀρξάμενον πλατύτερον χώννυσι, ὡς πλείονας ἐκβαίνεσθαι πυργοὺς καὶ τοὺς μηχανουμένους μηχανὰς ἄλλας κατασκευάζειν ἀκίνδυνον. Ἐς δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο, αὐτός τε ἐπιστατῶν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας ἅτε Σιδωνίους ἐπαΐοντας, ὡς σφίσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιπολαίου ἔτι ὄντα ἦν αὐτῷ τριήρων, ὅτι ἀνορυκτέα τὰ τῆς πολιορκίας εὑρίσκετο, θαλασσοκρατοῦντος τοῦ Τυρίων.

XX Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γηρόστρατος τε ὁ Ἀραδίων βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἔννηλος ὁ Βιγλίου ὃς ἔμαθε τὰς πολιὰς σφῶν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐχομένας ἀνὰ λιμένας Λίτοφοινίκων τε καὶ τὰς ξὺν αὐτῷ ναῦς, πλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἐφίκοντο καὶ αἱ τῶν Σιδωνίων τριήρεις σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἅτε Φοινίκων μὲν νῆες οὐ βουλόμενοι 2 μᾶλλον αὐτῷ παρεγένοντο. Ἦκον δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ἐκ Ῥόδου τριήρεις ἥ τε πανυπολὺς καλουμένη καὶ ξὺν ταύτῃ ἄλλαι ἑπτά, καὶ ἐκ Σόλων καὶ Μαλλοῦ τρεῖς καὶ Λυκίαι δέκα,

enough a great fire fell on the towers, and as the yards broke, they poured into the fire anything that had been made ready to feed the flame. The men in the triremes lay to near the mole, and shot at the towers, so that it was not safe for anyone bringing materials to quench the fire to get near. At this stage, the towers being well alight, the citizens sallied in large numbers, and jumping into small boats put in at different parts of the mole and easily tore down the palisade set up to protect it; besides, they burned all the engines which had not been caught by fire from the ships. Alexander, however, bade his men to build the mole broader from the mainland, so as to hold more towers, and the engineers he bade construct more engines. While these were being got ready, he with the bodyguard and the Agrianes made for Sidon, to collect all his triremes there, since the siege seemed more difficult as long as the Tyrians held the sea.

XX Meanwhile Gerostratus king of Aradus and Enylos of Byblus, learning that Alexander held their cities, left Autophradates and his fleet and arrived with their own contingents, and with them the Sidonian triremes, so that a total force joined him of some eighty Phoenician sail. There arrived also at the same time triremes from Rhodes, nine, in addition to their state guardship, three from Soli and

ἐκ Μακεδονίας δὲ παντηπόντορος, ἐφ' ἧς Πρωτέας
2 ὁ Ἀνδρονίκου ἐπέπλει. Οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον
καὶ αἱ τῆς Κύπρου βασιλεῖς ἐς τὴν Σιδῶνα
κατέσχον ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν μάλιστα καὶ εἴκοσιν,
ἐπειδή τε ἥσσαν τὴν κατ' Ἰσσὸν Δαρείου
ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἡ Φοινίκη πᾶσα ἐχομένη ἤδη ὑπ'
Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτούς. Καὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν
ἔδοξεν Ἀλέξανδρος δεῖσαν τῶν πρόσθεν, ὅτι ὑπ'
ἀνάγκης μᾶλλον τι ἢ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν σφῶν
ἔδοξαν ξυνταχθῆναι τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐς τὸ ναυτι-
κόν.

4 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ αἵ τε μηχαναὶ αὐτῷ ξυνεπήγνυντο
καὶ αἱ νῆες ὡς εἰς ἐπίπλουν τε καὶ ναυμαχίας
ἀποπειραν ἐξηρτύοντο, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀναλαβὼν
τῶν τε ἱππέων ὅλας ἕστιν ἃς καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς
καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνάς τε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπ'
Ἀραβίας στέλλεται εἰς τὸν Ἀντιλίβανον καλού-
5 μενον τὸ ὄρος· καὶ τὰ μὲν βία τῶν ταύτῃ ἐξελών,
τὰ δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ παραστησάμενος ἐν δέκα ἡμέραις
ἐπανῆγεν εἰς τὴν Σιδῶνα, καὶ καταλαμβάνει
Κλέανδρον τὸν Πολεμοκράτους ἐκ Πελοποννήσου
ἥκοντα καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ μισθοφόρους Ἕλληνας ἐς
τετρακισχιλίους.

6 Ἧκε δὲ συνετέτακτο αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικόν, ἐπιβιβά-
σας τοῖς καταστρώμασι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ὅσοι
ἱκανοὶ ἔδοξαν ἐς τὸ ἔργον, εἰ μὴ διέκπλοις
μᾶλλον τι ἢ ἐν χερσὶν ἡ ναυμαχία γίγνοιτο. Ἄραντι
δὲ τῆς Σιδῶνος ἐπέπλει τῇ Τύρῳ ξυνταγμέναις
ταῖς ναυσὶν αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας,
ᾗ δὴ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος αὐτῷ ἀνεῖχε, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ
αἵ τε Κυπρίων βασιλεῖς καὶ ὅσοι Φοινίκων, πλὴν
Πυνταγόρου· οὗτος δὲ καὶ Κρατερὸς τὸ εὐώνυμον
τρὸ

Mallos and ten from Lycia, and a fifty-oar from Macedon, its captain Proteas son of Andronicus. Soon also the kings of Cyprus put in at Sidon with about 120 sail, having learnt of Darius defeat on the Issus, and scared by Alexander's hold over all Phoenicia. To all these Alexander let bygones be bygones, supposing that it was rather from necessity than choice that they had joined naval forces with the Persians.

While his engines were being fitted together, and his ships were being equipped for the attack and for trying the issue of a naval battle, Alexander with some of the cavalry squadrons, the Agrianes, and the archers, marched towards Arabia to the mountain called Antilibanus. Part of this country he captured, part he received in surrender, and in ten days returned to Sidon, and found Cleandros son of Polemocrates arrived from the Peloponnese and with him four thousand Greek mercenaries.

When his navy was in due array, he put on deck as many of his bodyguard as he thought sufficient for the action—unless, of course, the engagement should rather be a matter of breaking through and charging than of hand-to-hand fighting—and weighing anchor sailed from Sidon to Tyre with his ships in close order, himself on the right wing, that is, seaward, and with him the Cyprian kings and all the Phoenicians, except Pnytagoras, who, with Craterus, commanded the left wing of the whole

1 εἶρον εἶχον τὴν τάξιν τάξουν. Τοῖς δὲ Τυρίοις πρότερον μὲν ναυμαχία ἐγεγόμενον ἦν οὐ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπιπλέουσι ἐφίσιν Ἀλεξάνδρου, τότε δὲ πλήθει σφῶν πολὺ ὑπερεχόντων κατέβαινον (οὐ γὰρ τῶν πεντηκοντόρων ἔφασαν σφίσι τὰς τε Κυπρίων ναῦς καὶ τὰς Φοινίκων ξυμπλεούσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔχειν)
6 καὶ ἅμα ξυντεταγμένους τοῦ στόλου γιγνομένου (ὀλίγον γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ προσχεῖν τῇ πόλει ἀπεπέπτωκεν αὐτῶν ὅτι πολλαὶ αἱ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ναῦς[1] ἀνέστησαν αὐτοὺς ξυνταξαμένους, ὡς σφᾶς ἀντιπαγήσεσθαι, πολλῷ τῷ ῥᾴδιῳ ἐπιπλεῦσαι) ταῦτα ἰδόντες οἱ Τύριοι ναυμαχίαν μὲν οὐκέτι ἐποιήσαντο τριήρεσι δὲ ἅμα τοῖς λιμέσιν τὰ στόματα ἐσέχοντο (ἦν γὰρ ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν φοινίκωνα ἐφελκόμενον ὡς μὴ τὸ τῶν λιμένων τοῦτο ἐγκαθορμισθῆναι τὰς πολεμίους τὸν στόλον
9 Ἀλεξάνδρου δέ, ὡς σφᾶς ἀντιπαγήσεσθαι οἱ Τύριοι, ἐπιπλεῖ τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐς μὲν τὸν λιμένα τὸν πρὸς Σιδῶνος βιαζόμενος ἐπέγνω διὰ στενοτῆτα τοῦ στόματος καὶ ἅμα ἀντιπρῴρους τριήρεις πολλὰς ἁρμοῦ τοιχωρύγματος τοῦ ἑτέρου τρεῖς δὲ τὰς ἐξωτάτω τοῦ στόματι τριήρεις πρωτοστάτους οἱ Φοίνικες καὶ ἀντιπρῴρους τοῖς πολεμίοις κατέλιπον· οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ναυσὶν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀποτειχίσοντο ἐς τὴν γῆν, φόβῳ οὔσῃ
10 Τότε μὲν δὴ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ νοητοῦ χώματος κατὰ τὸν αὐγιαλὸν, ἵνα κάστρα τὸν ἀνέμου ἐφέστατο, ἐς σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἁρμόσαντο. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ τοῖς μὲν Κιτιεῦσιν ἔδοσαν τὰς ἐφεστώσας ναῦσι καὶ Ἀνδρομάχῳ τῷ ναυάρχῳ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τὸν

[1] ναῦς Bentley: αἱ ναῦς MSS. and from ὡς ἐ gives νῆες, of the ten in command of the Tyrian squadron, three were Athenian.

armada. The Tyrians first decided to give battle by sea, should Alexander attack them there. But then sighting a host of ships far beyond their estimate —for they were unaware so far that all the Cyprian and all the Phoenician ships were with Alexander— and observing the attack coming in regular order— I must note that just before closing on the city Alexander's ships while still in the open had lain to, hoping to draw out the Tyrians to an engagement, and then as they did not put out in their original order came on at great speed—the Tyrians, I repeat, observing this, refused battle; but with so many of the triremes as the mouths of their harbours would hold they blocked the entrance and guarded them, so that the enemy's armada could not anchor in any of the harbours.

Alexander, however, on the Tyrians' refusal, sailed towards the city; he would not force an entry into the harbour facing Sidon because of the narrowness of the entry; and also because it was blocked with several triremes, bows on; still the Phoenicians charged, bow to bow, the three triremes which were moored farthest out, and sank them, their crews swam comfortably to the friendly shore; and on this Alexander's fleet came to anchor near the new-made mole along the shore, where there seemed to be protection from the winds. Next day Alexander ordered the Cyprians, with their contingent and with Andromachus the admiral, to blockade the city

ἐκ Σιδῶνος φέροντα ἐκέλευσεν ἐφορμεῖν τῇ πόλει, τοὺς δὲ Φοίνικας κατὰ τὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνα τοῦ χώματος τὸν πρὸς Αἴγυπτον ἀνέχοντα, ἵνα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ σκηνὴ ἦν.

XXI. Ἤδη δὲ καὶ μηχανοποιῶν αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἔκ τε Κύπρου καὶ Φοινίκης ἅπασης συλλελεγμένων, μηχαναὶ πολλαὶ συμπεπηγμέναι ἦσαν αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπαγωγῶν νεῶν, ἃς ἐπὶ Σιδονος ἅμα αἱ ἑκόμισαν, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τριηρῶν ὅσαι αὐτῶν οὐ ταχυναυτοῦσαι ἦσαν.

2 Ὡς δὲ παρεσκευάστο ἤδη ξυμπαντα, προσῆγον τὰς μηχανὰς κατά τε τὸ ποιητὸν χῶμα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη τοῦ τείχους προσορμιζομένων τε καὶ ἀποπειρωμένων τοῦ τείχους.

3 Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι ἐπί τε τῶν ἐπάλξεων τῶν κατὰ τὸ χῶμα πύργους ξυλίνους ἀνέστησαν, ὡς ἀπομαχεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλη αἱ μηχαναὶ προσῆγοντο, βέλεσί τε ἠμύνοντο καὶ πυρφόροις αἰστοῖς ἔβαλλον αὐτὰς τὰς ναῦς, ὥστε φόβον παρεῖχεν τοῖς Μακεδόσι πελάζειν τῷ τείχει.

4 Ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τείχη κατὰ τὸ χῶμα τό τε ὕψος ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα πόδας καὶ ἐς πλάτος ξυμμετρον λίθοις μεγάλοις ἐν γυψῳ εἰειμένοις ξυμπεπηγότα. Ταῖς δὲ ἐπαγωγοῖς τε καὶ ταῖς τριηρεσι τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὅσαι τὰς μηχανὰς προσῆγον τῷ τείχει, καὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ εὔπορον ἐγίγνετο πελάζειν τῇ πόλει, ὅτι λίθοι πολλοὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος προβεβλημένοι

5 ἐξείργον αὐτῶν τὴν ἐγγὺς προσβολήν. Καὶ τούτους Ἀλέξανδρος ἔργῳ ἐξέλαυνεν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης· ἠνύετο δὲ χαλεπῶς τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, εἰα δὴ

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at the harbour that faced Sidon, and the Phoenicians to do the same at the harbour on the other side of the mole, facing towards Eygpt, where was his own pavilion.

XXI. By this time a good many engineers had collected from Cyprus and the whole of Phoenicia, and a large number of engines had been built, some on the mole, some on the transports which Alexander had brought with him from Sidon, and some on the slower triremes. When everything was ready, they brought forward the engines at the end of the new-made mole and from the ships which lay to alongside the walls at all points and which now began to attack them.

The Tyrians set wooden towers on the battlements which faced the mole, so as to fight therefrom; and wherever else the engines were being brought to bear, they defended themselves with missiles and with fiery arrows assaulted the ships themselves, so that the Macedonians feared to approach their wall. The walls facing the mole were about 150 feet high and of corresponding breadth, stoutly built of big blocks of stone fitted in mortar. Even at this point the Macedonian transports and triremes, which brought up engines against the wall, found it not easy to approach the city, since heaps of stones cast into the sea prevented their approaching closely. These stones Alexander determined to drag out of the sea, but this work went on with difficulty, being

ἀπὸ νεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς βεβαίου γιγνόμενον, ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ Τύριοι ναῦν κατασκευάσαντες παρὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔνοπλον τῶν τριήρων καὶ ὑποτείνοντες τὰς σχοινοῦς τῶν ἀγκυρῶν ἔνερθεν τὴν προσορμισιν τοῖς πολεμίοις ραιστὴν ἐποίουν.
8 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τριακοντόρους πολλὰς ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον φραξὶς ἐποιήσατο ἀγκυρισμοὺς πρὸ τῶν ἀγκυρῶν, ὡς μὴ ἀνασπᾶσθαι τὸν ἐπίπλουν τῶν νεῶν. Ἄλλα καὶ ἐκ βάθους ἐπλήμμυρε τοῖς σχοινοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπέτεμνον. Οἱ δὲ ἀνασπῶντες τὰς ἀγκύρας ἅτε σχοινῶν χρησόμενοι οἱ Μακεδόνες, καθίεσαν ἅστε μηδὲν ἔτι πλοῖον τοῖς
† πολεμίοις γιγνεσθαι. Ἐξαίφνης οὖν βραχὺν τὸν λιθον ἀπὸ τοῦ χωματος ἀνέστησαν αὐτοὶ ἔξω τῆς θαλασσης ὄντα μηχαναῖς μετεωρισαντες κατὰ βάθους ἀφῆσαν ἵνα αὖθις προβλήμενοι βλάψειν ἐμέλλον. Ὅσων δὲ κάθαρσιν ποιοῦντο τῶν προβολῶν τὸ τεῖχος, οὐ χαλεπὸν ἦν τοῦτο αἱ νῆες προσεῖχον.
9 Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι, πάντη ἄνωθεν γιγνομένου, ἐγνωσαν ἔπιπλον ποιήσασθαι τοῖς Κυπρίοις ναυσίν, αἳ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα ἐφώρμουν τὸν ἐν Σιδῶνι τετραμμένον· ἐκ πολλοῦ δὲ κατασκευασαντες τοῦ λιμένος τὸ στόμα ἐστιᾶσι, τοῦ μὴ κατάφαρη γενέσθαι τῶν τριήρων τὴν πλησμονὴν, ἄμφι μέσον ἡμέρας, ὅποτε οἵ τε ναῦται ἐπὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐκτραπόμενοι ἦσαν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔπι θύραια τῆς πολεως ναυτικοῦ
10 ἐπὶ τὸν κυκλῳ ἀπεῖχεν. πλησιάσαντες σταδίους μὲν τρεῖς καὶ τετράκις ἦσαν, τριήρεις δὲ ἐντὸς ὡς ἐκπεπλεύκασι τε τοῖς πλησμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἔπι τοῦ καταστρώματος μαχεσθαι μέλλοντες

carried on from ships and not from land; moreover, the Tyrians protected with armour certain of their ships and bore down on the anchors of the trirem s and cut the cables, thus making it impossible for the enemy's ships to lie near by. But Alexander protected several thirty-oars in the same way, and laid them athwart in front of the anchors to repel the attack of the Tyrian ships. Even so, divers plunging in cut the cables. So the Macedonians used chains for anchor cables, and lowered them, so that the divers were made useless. Then standing on the mole they cast running knots round the stones and drew them out of the sea, and then buried them with their engines into deep water, where there was no more chance of their being thrown in the way and doing any more harm. Thus, when they had cleared the approach to the wall, the ships lay alongside quite easily.

The Tyrians, now hard pressed all round, determined to attack the Cyprian vessels which were blockading the harbour that fronted Sidon. For a long time they kept sails stretched in front of the harbour mouth, that the manning of the triremes might not be seen, and about midday, when the Greek sailors were scattered on necessary business and Alexander had just retired from the ships on the south of the city to his pavilion, they manned three quinquiremes and quadriremes, and seven triremes, with their smartest crews and the best-armed marines, to fight from the decks, and—what

σιν εὐσπλοτάτοις καὶ ἅμα εὐθαρσεστάτοις ἐς τοὺς ναυτικοὺς ἀγῶνας, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἄτρεμα τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ ἐπὶ μιᾶς νεὼς ἐξέπλεον ἄνευ κελευστῶν τὰς κώπας παραφέροντες· ὡς δὲ ἐπέστρεφον ἤδη ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυπρίους καὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ καθορασθαι ἦσαν, τότε δὴ ξὺν βοῇ τε πολλῇ καὶ ἐγκελευσμῷ ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἅμα τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ ξυντόνῳ ἐπεφέροντο.

XXII Ξυνέβη δὲ ἐκείνῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποχωρήσαι ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν, οὐ διατρῖψαντα δὲ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς, διʼ ὀλίγου ἐπὶ
1 τὰς ναῦς ἐπανελθεῖν. Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι προσπεσόντες ἀπροσδοκήτοις ταῖς ναυσὶν ὁρμωμέναις, καὶ ταῖς μὲν πάντῃ κεναῖς ἐπιτυχόντες, τῶν δʼ ὑπʼ αὐτὴν τὴν βοὴν καὶ τὸν ἔπαλξιν χαλεπῶς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων πληρουμένων, τήν τε Πυνταγόρου τοῦ βασιλέως ναυτιήρη εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῇ πρώτῃ ἐμβολῇ κατέδυσαν καὶ τὴν Ἀνδροκλέους τοῦ Ἀμαθουσίου καὶ τὴν Πασιπράτους τοῦ Θουριέως, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐξωθοῦντες
2 ἔκοπτον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ᾔσθετο τὸν ἔπαλξιν τῶν Τυρίων τριηρῶν, τὰς μὲν πολλὰς τῶν ξὺν αὐτῷ νεῶν, ὅπως ἑκάστη πληρωθείη, ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ἀνακωχεύειν ἔταξεν, ὡς μὴ καὶ ἄλλαι ἐκπλεύσειαν τῶν Τυρίων νῆες· αὐτὸς δὲ ναυτήρας τε τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τῶν τριηρῶν ἐς πέντε μαλιστα, ὅσαι ἐφθησαν αὐτῷ κατὰ τάχος πληρωθεῖσαι, περιέπλει τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς
4 ἐκπεπλευκότας τῶν Τυρίων. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, τόν τε ἔπαλξιν τῶν πολεμίων κατιδόντες καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, βοῇ

is more—their bravest sea-fighting men, and first gently rowed out in single file, rowing without anyone to call the stroke; but when they were turning towards the Cyprian ships and were on the point of being seen, then, with shouting and calling of the time and with orderly and regular strokes, on they came.

XXII. On that day, as it fell out, Alexander had retired to his pavilion, but had not rested there, as his custom was, but returned to the ships quite soon. The Tyrians falling all unexpected on the anchored ships, finding some quite empty, and others being hastily manned from any who chanced to be there at the noise and the attack, at the first charge sank the pentereme of King Pnytagoras, with those of Androcles of Amathus and Pasicrates of Thurion, the rest they drove ashore and broke up.

Alexander, however, learning of the sally of the Tyrian triremes, bade most of his ships to lay to at the harbour mouth as soon as each was manned, that no other Tyrian ships might sally; then he took what quinqueremes he had and some five triremes, which had got their crews on board in all haste, and sailed round the city against the Tyrians who had broken out. Those on the wall, seeing the enemy attack and Alexander himself aboard, bade

τε ἐπανόδων ἐπεκελεύοντο τοῖς ἐκ τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐξακουστὸν ἦν ὑπὸ θορύβου ξυνεχομένων ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, σημείοις ἄλλοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπεκάλουν ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. Οἱ δὲ ὑψέ ποτε αἰσθόμενοι τῶν ἐπιτέλων τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ὑποστρέψαντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἔφευ-
6 γον. Καὶ ὀλίγαι μὲν τῶν νεῶν φθάνουσιν ἐκφεύγουσαι, ταῖς δὲ πλείοσιν ἐμβάλλουσαι αἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ἄπλους ἐποίησαν, πεντήρης δέ τις καὶ τετρήρης αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ἐλήφθησαν. Φόνος δὲ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν οὐ πολὺς ἐγένετο. Ὡς γὰρ ᾤσθοντο ἐχομένας τὰς ναῦς, ἀπενήξαντο οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐς τὸν λιμένα.

6 Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῖς Τυρίοις ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ὠφέλεια ἦν, ἐπῆγον ἤδη οἱ Μακεδόνες τὰς μηχανὰς τῷ τείχει αὐτῶν. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸ χωμα προσαγομένας διὰ ἰσχὺν τοῦ τείχους οὐδὲν ἦνυον ἔς τε καὶ λόγου ἄξιον· οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς Σιδῶνα τετραμμένον τῆς πόλεως τῶν νεῶν τινας τῶν
7 μηχανοφόρων προσῆγον. Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτῃ ἦνυεν, ἐς τὸ πρὸς νότον αὖ ἄνεμον καὶ πρὸς Λίγυπτον ἀνέχον τείχος μετῆει, παντὶ ἀπορούμενος τοῦ ἔργου. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον κατεσείσθη τε τὸ τείχος ἐπὶ μέγα καὶ τι καὶ κατηρείφθη αὐτοῦ παραῤῥαγὲν. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ σὺν ἐπιβάλλων γεφύρας ἢ ἐρηρικὼς τοῦ τείχους, ἀπεστειράθη τε ὀλίγον τῆς προσβολῆς· καὶ οἱ Τύριοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεῤῥύσαντο τοὺς Μακεδόνας.

XXIII Τρίτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμέρᾳ πανημέριαν τε φυλαξαι καὶ παρακελεύσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν

their own men with shouts to put about, and as no one could hear from the general noise they used various signals to ensure their retreat. The seamen, observing too late the attack of Alexander's ships, went about, and hurried back to the harbour. A few of the Tyrian ships managed to get to safety, but Alexander's ships charged the bulk of them and put some out of action, while a quinquireme and a quadrireme were captured at the very entrance of the harbour. There was no great slaughter of the crews, for they, as soon as they saw that their ships were held up, swam off without much difficulty into the harbour

Now that the Tyrians could look for no help from their ships, the Macedonians began to bring up their engines against the wall. When brought along the mole, they did nothing worthy of remark, owing to the strength of the walls, but, on the side of the city looking towards Sidon, the Greeks brought up some of their ships which carried engines. But as they did not succeed even here, Alexander turned to the south and the harbour facing towards Egypt, testing the wall from all sides. There first the wall was badly shaken and a part broken down, and thereupon Alexander made a slight and tentative attack so far at least as throwing bridges over the broken part of the wall: the Tyrians, however, easily repulsed the Macedonians.

XXIII. The third day afterwards, having waited for a calm, and urging his battalion commanders to

τάξιν δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἐνῆγε τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων τὰς μηχανάς. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν κατιόντες τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ μέγα. Ἐπὶ δὲ ἀνωχύρου σὺν πλάτει ὄφαν τὸ παραρρῆγμενον, τὰς μὲν μηχα-
3 νοφόρους ταύτῃ ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκέλευεν· ὁ δὲ ὄνος ἄλλως ἐνῆγεν αἱ τὰς γεφύρας αὐτῷ ὄφειλον δὴ δὴ ἐπιβαλλειν ἄκροις τῷ καταρρῆγματι τοῦ τείχους. Καὶ τὸν μὲν μιαν τῶν νεῶν οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ἔλαβον ᾗ ἐστήκεσαν Ἄδμητος, τὴν ἑτέραν δὲ ἡ Κοίνου ταξις οἱ πεζέταιροι· καλου-
μένοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ξὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς ἐπιβη-
3 ναθαι τοῦ τείχους ἡ παρεῖκεν ἑκάλλι. Τὰς τριήρεις δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐπιπλεῖν κατὰ τοὺς λιμένας ἀμφοτέρους ἐκέλευεν, αἱ ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸς σφᾶς τετραμμένων τοῦ Τύρου βιασάμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλουν δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῶν βίᾳ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς βαλλόμενα εἶχον ἡ δοῦναι τάξιν ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ὄφαν, ταύτας δὲ ἐκέλευεν ἐν εὐκαίρῳ περιπλεούσας τὸ τεῖχος ἐπιπλεῖν τὸ ἔτι παρεῖκεν καὶ ἀπα-
κοντίζειν ἐντὸς βέλους ὄντα τὸ ἐπιπλεῖν ἑκάστοις γίγνοιτο ὡς ταχιστα ἀθρόοι βαλλόμενοι τοὺς Τυρίους ἐς τὸ ἐς τὸ ἀμφὶ τὰ λιμένα γίγνεσθαι.

4 Ἐπὶ δὲ αἱ τε νῆες αἱ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου παρεῖχον τῇ πόλει καὶ αἱ γέφυραι ἐπεβλήθησαν τῷ τείχει ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐνταῦθα οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ εὐρωστοι κατὰ ταῦτα ἐπεδείκνυντο ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος· ἦ τε γὰρ Ἄδμητος πολὺ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ τότε ἐγένετο, καὶ ἅμα Ἀλεξάνδρου εἶναι αὐτοῦ, τοῦ τε ἔργου αὐτοῦ καρτερὸν ἀντομένου καὶ θαυμάζοντος τὸν

[1] Arrianus read however ἄνωθεν. A conj. is possibly correct (Gilliam translates the word twice IV 23 1 and elsewhere.

action, Alexander brought up against the city the engines on board the ships. First he battered down the wall for a good space. But when the breach seemed wide enough, he ordered up the engine-carrying ships; besides, he sent in two others, fitted with gangways, which were to be let fall on the breach of the wall. One of the ships the bodyguard took over, Admetus being its captain; the other was manned by Coenus' battalion, called the territorial infantry. He was ready himself with his bodyguard to rush in wherever the wall gave. A part of his triremes he ordered to sail round about either harbour, to see if perhaps (the Tyrians being busy with the attacking troops) they might force an entrance. Other vessels which carried ammunition for the engines or had archers on deck, Alexander ordered to circle about the wall, and put in wherever it was possible, and lay to within range, so long as it should be impossible to lie alongside; so that the Tyrians should be attacked from all sides and become distracted by their danger.

As soon as Alexander's ships closed upon the city and the gangways were thrown upon the wall from the ships, the guards stoutly mounted the wall by these; not only did Admetus behave valiantly that day, but Alexander was with them, both taking a conspicuous part in the action and keeping his eyes

ἄλλων, ἤν τι λαμπρὸν εἶναι ἀφιγμένῳ ἐς τὴν
8 αὐτῶν ἐτολμᾶτο. Καὶ ταύτῃ πρώτου ἐπεστή-
σαντο Ἀλέξανδρος πληθὺ τοῦ τείχους οὐ χαλε-
πῶν ἀποκρυσθέντων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν Τυρίων,
ἀνειδὴ πρώτου βελέων τε καὶ ἅμα οὐ πάνυ
ἀποτόμῳ τῇ προσβάσει ἐχρησάντο οἱ Μακεδόνες.
Καὶ Ἄδμητος μὲν πρώτος ἐπιβὰς τοῦ τείχους
καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐπιβαλομένων ἐπιβαίνειν,
βληθεὶς λαγχῇ ἀνεθόρησε αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ
Ἀλέξανδρος ἔσχε τε τοῦτο ξὺν τοῖς ἑταίροις.
9 Ὡς δὲ εἵχοντο αὐτῷ πυργοί τε δύο οἱ καὶ
μετεωρότατοι, αὐτὸς μὲν παρῆλθε διὰ τῶν ἐπάλξεων
ἐπὶ ἄνω τὰ βασίλεια, ὅτι ταύτῃ εὐπορώτερα
ἐφαίνετο ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἡ καθόδος

XXIV Οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν οἵ τε Φοίνικες κατὰ
τὸν λιμένα τὸν πρὸς Λιγυπτίων, καθ' ὅσον καὶ
ἐφορμοῦντες ἐτύγχανον, βασάμενοι καὶ τὰ
ἐλατήρια διαπετάσαντες ἔφερον τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὸν
λιμένα, ταῖς μὲν ῥαιστῆρσι ἐμβάλλοντες, τὰς δὲ
ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξωθοῦντες, καὶ οἱ Κύπριοι κατὰ τὸν
ἄλλον λιμένα τὸν ἐπὶ Σιδῶνος φέροντα, οὐδὲ
ἐλατήρια τούτοις γε ἔχοντα, παρῆλθόν τε ἄλλοι
3 ἐνθένδε ταύτῃ τὴν πόλιν. Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν
Τυρίων τὸ μὲν τεῖχος, ὡς ἑώρων αὐτὸ, ἐξελι-
πόντων ἀθρόους ἐσθέντων δὲ κατὰ τὸ Ἀγήνορος
καλούμενον ἐπεστράφησαν ταύτῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακε-
δόνας. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ξὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς
ἐπὶ τούτους χωρήσας τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ μαχομένους
διέφθειρεν αὐτῶν, τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσιν ἐφέπετο.
4 Καὶ φανὲν ἦν πόλιν, τῶν τε ἄνω τοῦ λιμένος
ἐχόντων ἤδη τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς Κοίνου τάξεως
παρελθούσης ἐς αὐτῶν. Ὀργὴ γὰρ ἐχόμενοι

open for any brave or brilliant action of the rest. And the part of the wall captured first was, in fact, just where Alexander had posted himself; the Tyrians were rather easily beaten off from it, since now for the first time the Macedonians had an approach that was solid and not precipitous on all sides. Admetus, first on the wall, and cheering his men on, was wounded by a spear and died there, after him Alexander followed up and seized the wall with his followers. Holding then some of the towers and the curtains between them, he passed on through the battlements towards the royal quarters, this way it appeared that descent into the city would be easier.

XXIV To turn to the ships and their crews, the Phoenicians near the southern harbour, where they were moored, forcing their way and tearing asunder the booms, played havoc with the ships in the harbour, attacking some afloat, and driving others ashore, the Cyprians by the northern harbour, which had not even a boom, sailed in and captured the city on this side. The main body of the Tyrians deserted the wall when they saw it was in the enemy's possession but they massed together at what is called the Shrine of Agenor, and there made a stand against the Macedonians. There Alexander with his bodyguard came upon them, and some he slew there, still fighting, the rest he turned to flight and pursued. There was a bloody massacre; now that those coming from the harbour were already masters of the city, and Coenus' battalion had passed inside. For the Macedonians fell furiously on every-

ἀπὸ μὲν οἱ Μακεδόνες τῇ τε παλαιότητι τῇ τριβῇ αχθόμενοι καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες τοῦτο αὐτοὶ οἱ Τύριοι πλάσαντες ἐς Σιδῶνα ὅτι τὸ τείχος ἀναβιβάσαιντο, ὅπως ἀποστῶσιν εἴη ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, σφάξαντες ἔρριψαν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. Ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν Τυρίων ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλίους, τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ ἐν τῇ τότε προσβολῇ Ἄλκητος τε, ὁ πρῶτος ἐλθὼν τὸ τεῖχος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ εἴκοσι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐν δὲ τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ μάλιστα ἐς τετρακοσίους.

Τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καταφυγόντας ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῶν τε τῶν Τυρίων οἱ μάλιστα ἐν τέλει καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄζεμιλκος καὶ Καρχηδονίων τινὲς θεωροὶ ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους κατὰ δή τινα νόμον παλαιὸν ἐκ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀφικόμενοι) τούτους ξυμπάσαις δέκα δίκαις Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἠνδραπόδισε, καὶ ἐπράθησαν Τυρίων τε καὶ τῶν ξένων ὅσοι ἐχειρώθησαν, μάλιστα εἰς τρισμυρίους· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ θύσας τε καὶ πομπὴν θεσπίσας σὺν τῇ δυνάμει πανδημεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ξυνεπομπεύσας τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ λαμπάδα ἔπεμψε καὶ τὴν μηχανὴν ᾗ τὸ τεῖχος κατεσκάθη ἀνέθηκέ τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὴν ναῦν τὴν Τυρίαν τὴν ἱερὰν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἣν τότε ἐν τῷ ἐπινείῳ ἔλαβε, καὶ ταύτην τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἀνέθηκε καὶ ἐπιγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτῇ, ἢ αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἢ ὅστις δὴ ἄλλος ποιήσαντος· ἐνὸς δέομαι μνησθῆναι τὸ ἐπιγραμμα διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸ ἀναγράψαι ἀνέῳξα. Τύρου μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἑάλω ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος

thing, enraged at the length of the siege, and also because the Tyrians having captured some of their men sailing from Sidon had dragged them up on to the wall, so that the Greek camp might see them, and slew them and cast them into the sea. Eight thousand Tyrians fell, of the Macedonians, in this actual attack, Admetus, the first to mount on the wall, after proving himself a brave man, and with him twenty of the guards, in the entire siege the losses were about four hundred.

As for those who fled to the temple of Heracles—these were the more important Tyrians, King Azemilcus, and some Carthaginian visitors, come to their mother-city to pay honour to Heracles, according to some ancient custom—to all these Alexander granted complete pardon, the rest he sold into slavery, there were sold, what with Tyrians and foreigners captured at Tyre, some 30,000. Alexander sacrificed to Heracles and held a procession in his honour, with his whole army under arms; there was a naval review also in honour of Heracles, and Alexander held games in the Temple enclosure and a torch-race, the engine which battered the wall he dedicated in the temple, and the Tyrian sacred ship, consecrated to Heracles, which he captured in the attack, he hallowed to Heracles with an inscription, either of his own composition or of someone else's not worth recording, that is why I did not trouble to copy it. Tyre then was captured, in the archonship at Athens of Anicetus in the month Hecatombaeon.

XXV Ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῆς Τύρου ξυνεχομένου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφικνοῦνται παρὰ Δαρεῖον πρεσβεῖς ἐκ Αἰγύπτου, ἀπαγγέλλοντες μύρια μὲν τάλαντα ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς τε καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν παίδων δώσειν ἐθέλειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Δαρεῖον τὴν δὲ χώραν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ ἕστε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου εἶναι γημαντα δὲ τὴν Δαρείου παῖδα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ φίλον τε εἶναι
2 Δαρείῳ καὶ ξυμμαχον. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τῷ ξυλλόγῳ τῶν ἑταίρων ἀπαγγελθέντων Παρμενίωνα μὲν λέγουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρου εἰπεῖν, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἂν ἐπὶ τούτοις σπεισάμενος καταλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τοῖσδε εἰπόντος Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ Παρμενίωνα ἀνοήτως ἂν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐθέλειν, εἰ μὴ Παρμενίων ἦν, οὕτως ἔφη εἰπεῖν, ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐστὶν, ἀνοήτως ἂν Δαρείῳ ἔτι δὴ καὶ ἀντειπεῖν.
3 Τάφη γὰρ οὐκ χρημάτων ἕνεκα παρὰ Δαρείου οὐδὲ τῆς χώρας λαβεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ πάσῃ τὸ μέρος· εἶναι γὰρ τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν· γῆμαι τε ἂν ἐθέλειν τὴν Δαρείου παῖδα· γῆμαι δὲ καὶ οὐ διδόντος Δαρείου· εἰ γάρ τι ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐθέλει φιλανθρώπου παρ' αὐτοῦ. Ταῦτα μὲν ἤκουσε Δαρεῖος, τὰ μὲν ξυμβάσεως ἀντυχεῖν τὰ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐν παρασκευῇ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου αὖθις ἦν.
4 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτου ἔτι ὢν ἐπεθύμησε θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ. Καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῇ Πελασγιωτικῇ καλουμένῃ Συρίας προσεχωρησεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· ἐπέσχηκε δὲ τις, ᾗ δοκεῖ ἦν Βατις,

XXV While Alexander was still busied with the siege, envoys from Dareius came to him offering, from Dareius to Alexander, 10,000 talents for his mother, wife, and children; with the proposal that all the country within the Euphrates to the Greek sea should be Alexander's; that Alexander should marry Dareius' daughter and be his friend and ally. On these suggestions being read in the staff council, Parmenio (so we are told) affirmed that were he Alexander he would close with these terms and stop the war without further risks, then Alexander answered Parmenio that he would indeed have done this were he Parmenio, but being Alexander he would reply to Dareius in the words he actually used; he needed no money from Dareius, nor to receive a part of the country in place of the whole; for all the country and all the treasures were already his; if he chose to marry Dareius' daughter, he would marry her, even if Dareius did not give her; and Dareius, if he desired friendship at his hands, must come to him. When Dareius received this reply he cancelled all proposals to Alexander and began to prepare again for war.

Alexander now determined to make his expedition to Egypt. The rest of Syrian Palestine (as it is called) had already come over to him, but a certain

πρατῶν τῆς Γαζαίων πολέως, οὐ προσεῖχεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλὰ Ἄραβας τε μισθωτοὺς ἐπαγόμενος καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ παρασκευασάμενον διαρκῆ ἐς χρόνον πολιορκίαν καὶ τῷ χώρῳ πιστεύων, μήποτε ἂν διὰ κλαύσας, ἔγνω μὴ δέχεσθαι τῷ πολει Ἀλέξανδρον.

XXVI Ἔστι δὲ ἡ Γάζα τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης εἴκοσι μάλιστα σταδίους, καὶ ἔστι ψαμμώδης καὶ βαθεῖα ἐς αὐτὴν ἡ ἄνοδος καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἡ κατὰ τὴν πολιν τεναγώδης πᾶσα. Μεγάλη δὲ πολις ἡ Γάζα ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ χωματος ὑψηλοῦ κάκιστο καὶ τείχος περιεβέβλητο αὐτῇ ἀχυρον. Ἔστι δὲ κειται ὡς ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐκ Φοινίκης ἰοῦσι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐρήμου.

1 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πολιν τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἡ μάλιστα ἐπιμαχον αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο τὸ τείχος, καὶ μηχανὰς συνιστησιν ἐκέλευσεν. Οἱ δὲ μηχανοποιοὶ γνώμην ἀνέβαλλοντο ἄπρακτον εἶναι διὰ ἰλὺν
2 τὸ τείχος διὰ ὕψος τοῦ χώματος. Ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἔδοκει αἰρετέον εἶναι ὅσῳ ἀποκρουστέον· ἐπῆρξεν γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ ἔργον τῷ παραλογῳ ὅτι μεγα, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἰλὺν ἀσχυρὸν εἶναι· οἱ λεγομενοι δὲ τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ δὴ Δωριέων. Ἔδοκει δὴ χῶμα ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς πολεως χωννύναι, ὡς ἐξ ἴσου ἀπὸ τοῦ χωσθέντος ἐπαγεσθαι τὰς μηχανὰς τοῖς τείχεσι. Καὶ ἐχωννυτο κατὰ τὸ νοτιον μάλιστα τῆς πολεως τείχος, ἵνα
4 ἐπιμαχώτερα ἐφαίνετο. Ὡς δὲ ἐδόκει ἐξῆρθαι συμμετρως τὸ χωμα, μηχανὰς ἐπιστησαντες οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐπῆγον ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος τῶν Γαζαίων. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ θυοντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐστεφανω-

eunuch, Batis, who was master of Gaza, did not join Alexander but brought against him a force of Arab mercenaries, and having got ready some time before provision for a long siege, trusting, moreover, in the fortress, that it never could be taken by assault, decided not to admit Alexander into the city.

XXVI Gaza is about 20 stades from the sea, and the approach is over deep sand, and the sea over against the city is broken into pools. The city of Gaza was large and built on a lofty mound, with a strong wall built round it. It was the last town on the edge of the desert as you go from Phoenicia to Egypt.

When Alexander reached the city he encamped the first day where the wall seemed easiest to attack, and he ordered siege engines to be made up. The engineers, however, suggested that it was hopeless to take the city by force owing to the height of the mound. Alexander thought, on the contrary, that the more impracticable it was, the more it must be taken, for the miracle of the achievement would strike terror into his enemies, while not to take it would be a blow to his prestige when noised abroad to the Greeks and Darius. It was decided to raise a counter-mound round the city, and so bring the engines to bear on the walls, from the new mound, on the level. They built this mound chiefly against the city's southern wall, where the assault seemed most likely to succeed. And when the Macedonians thought they had built the mound of the proper height, they set up engines upon it and brought them up to the city wall. Just at this time, as Alexander was sacrificing, wearing garlands,

μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἀνταρκεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν στρατὸν ἐμοῦ κατὰ νοῦν, τόν τε σκηνοφόρον ὄχλον ὑπερτεταμένον ὑπὲρ τὸν δέον κεῖσθαι τοῖς ἵπποις δὲ τὸν σῖτον ἔστιν ὅτε οὐκ ἐξαρκεῖν. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἔφασαν ἀποκρίνασθαι τοὺς μὲν λόγους ὀρθῶς τε καὶ καλῶς λέγειν· ὁ δὲ στρατηγεῖν ὅτι Ἰλιακοῦ, τὸν μὲν σῖτον ἀφανῆ, αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ φύλακας ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἵππων.

XXVII Τοῦτο ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τοὺς μηχανικοὺς ἔφη δεῖσθαι αὐτῶν εἶναι· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδεμιᾷ τε ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ἀπορίᾳ ἐντετύχηκε καὶ τοῦ τε ἐνόντος τοῖς μηχανικοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρειᾳ καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐμπειροτέρους εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐξ ὑπερβολῆς τῶν χωμάτων ἐπαΐειν τε καὶ οἴδειν κατὰ τοῦ τοιούτου χώματος ὅντινα ἢ τοῦ ἄνεμον Ἀλέξανδρον τῷ μεστῷ ἢ ἀντλοῦντι τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανισμοῦ τῆς μεστοῦ ἀλλ' ἀναλαβόντας τοὺς στρατιώτας παραβοηθεῖν ἐπὶ 1 μεστὰ ἀναίζοντα τὰ Μακεδόνων. Καὶ τούτους μὲν δὴ τῷ τε μὴ σὺν αὐτῷ φῶτα αὐτὸ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦ χώματος, αὐτοὺς δὲ βαλλομένους κατακλῆσαι διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος ὑπωροφῆ καὶ τοῦ θωράκος ἐς τὸν ὄμβρον. Ὡς δὲ ἔγνω τὰ αὐτὰ τὸ τρῶμα πλήθουσαν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔχειν ὅτι καὶ τῷ τοῦτο δὴ αὐτοῦ εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργον.

4 Καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν τὸ τρῶμα ἀδυνατώτερον χαλεπὸν ἀφικνεῖσθαι· ἢ αὐτῷ μετατεμένῳ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τὰ μηχανὰ ἐκ Τύρου εἶναι καὶ χώμα χωννύειν ἐς ἀντιπέρας τοῦ τείχους τοῦ Τυρίων εἶναι μὲν δὴ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ ἔργα δὲ ἐς 5 τεῖχος συντόνως καὶ ἐπικινδύνως[1] Ὡς δὲ αἱ

[1] The translation Krüger plausibly suggests is: ἐς τεῖχος συντόνως καὶ ἐπικινδύνως.

and just about to initiate the first victim according to the ceremonial, a carnivorous bird hovering over the altar dropped on his head a stone which it was carrying in its talons. Alexander asked Aristander the seer what this omen of the bird meant, and he answered, "O King, you will capture the city, but for to-day you must look to yourself"

XXVII On this advice Alexander remained for a time by the engines, out of range, but on a strong sally from the city, the Arabs trying to set fire to the engines, and pelting the Macedonians, who were resisting below, from their commanding position, and even pushing them over the new mound, Alexander either disobeyed the seer's words on purpose or carried away in the action did not give them a moment's thought, but bringing on his guards helped the Macedonians where they were most hardly pressed. He did, in fact, hold them from being driven down the mound in ignominious flight, but he was hit by a shot from a catapult right through his shield and his corselet, into the shoulder. But perceiving that Aristander had been right about the wound, he was glad, since he felt that Aristander also guaranteed the capture of the city

Alexander was not easily treated of his wound; but there arrived, sent for by sea, the engines with which he captured Tyre. He ordered a mound to be erected the whole way round the city, two stades broad, two hundred and fifty feet high. Then as

τε μηχανας αὐτῷ ἐπιτηδείας καὶ διαβρήξαντα κατὰ τὸ χωμα κατεσκευασε τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ πολύ, ὑποκοπτων τε ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῦ χωματος ἀφαιρούμενου τὸ τείχος πολλαχῆ ἠρώγει ὑφιζανον κατὰ τὸ ἐπικείμενον τοῖς τε βέλεσιν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατείχον οἱ Μακεδονες ἀποστέλλοντες τοὺς τρωμαχουμένους ἐς τὸν πύργον· ἐκ μὲν τριῶν πρεσβεῖαι οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπεθηκαντο τὰ αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι, διωκιστείχων τῇ τεταρτῃ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν φάλαγγα παντάπασι προσαγαγων Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ μὲν ὑποκειμένου τὸ τείχος κατασκάλλει· τῇ δὲ ἐπικειμένου ταῖς μηχαναις κατασείει ἐπὶ πολύ, ὡς μὴ χαλεπὴν ταῖς ἀναβάσεσι τὴν προσβολὴν κατὰ τὰ ἐρηπομένα ἐσεσθαι. Αἱ τε οὖν ἀναβάσεις προσηγοντο τῷ τείχει καὶ ἔρυμα πολλὴ ἐν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἦν τὸ ἀρτίως μετεπεμπετο· ἔνθα πρῶτος ἀνέβη τὸ τείχος καὶ ἀνὴρ πρῶτος Νεοπτόλεμος τῶν ἑταίρων τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου γενόμενος ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἄλλοι καὶ ἄλλοι τάξεσι ὁμοῦ τοῖς ψιλοῖς ἀνέβαινον. Οἱ δὲ ἀναξ παραλλὸν τινες ἔτοιμοι τοῦ τείχους τῶν Μακεδόνων, κατασχισαντες ἄλλοι καὶ ἄλλοι πύλας, ἅμα ἐσω ἐπεστίγαζον δεχόμενοι εἴσω τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν. Οἱ δὲ Γαζαῖοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν σφίσιν ἤδη ἐχομένην ξυνεστήσαντο ὁμοῦ ἐμαχοντο· καὶ ἀνεβόων πάντες αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ἐς ἕκαστον ἐπιχεόμενοι· πολὺς δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν ἐξανδραποδισμὸς αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου. Τὴν πόλιν δὲ ξυνοικίσας ἐκ τῶν περιοικων ἔχρητο ἐπὶ φρουρίῳ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.

soon as his engines had been set up and being brought up to the mound had considerably battered the wall, tunnels were driven here and there and the earth below secretly withdrawn till the wall gave, subsiding on the gaps, while the Macedonians cleared a great space with their soldiers and drove back the defenders from the towers, the defenders, nevertheless, though with many dead and wounded, held bravely out against three onslaughts. But in the fourth Alexander brought up his phalanx of Macedonians on all sides, threw down the wall, now undermined, at one place, and breached it for a great stretch in another battered as it was with his engines so that it was not hard to make the assault with ladders on the fallen portions. So the ladders were set against the wall, and then was much rivalry of the Macedonians such as had claim to valorous qualities, who would be first to mount the wall, the first proved to be Neoptolemus, one of the Companions and of the family of the Aeacidae. After him, battalion after battalion climbed up with their officers. As soon as the first few had entered into the wall, they tore down gate after gate, as they found them, and so admitted the entire army. The citizens, though their city was already in enemy hands, held together and still resisted, and they all perished there, fighting each man at his post. Their women and children Alexander sold into slavery, the city he populated with the neighbouring tribesmen and used it as a fortress town for the war.

BOOK III

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ

1. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐκ Αἰγύπτου, ἵνα τὸ πρῶτον ἀρχθῇ, ἐστέλλετο, καὶ εἰδόμην ἡμέρα ἀπὸ τῆς Γαζῶν ἄλωσεως ἦκεν ἐς Πηλούσιον τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς παρῆλθε αὐτῷ ἐς Φοινίκην ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ κατελάμβανε τὰς ναῦς ἐν Πηλουσίῳ ὁρμούσας.
2 Μαζαίης δὲ ὁ Περσῶν, ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ Δαρείου καθεστηκώς, τήν τε ἐν Ἰσσῷ μάχην ἔτι συνειδὼς πεπονημένους καὶ Δαρεῖον ἔτι ἐκ μιᾶς φυγὴν ἐφυγε καὶ Φοινίκην τε καὶ Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀραβίων τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἤδη ὄντα, αὐτῷ τε οὐκ οὔσης δυνάμεως Περσικῆς ἐπέχειν τοὺς πολλοὺς φίλους καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ Ἀλεξάνδρου
3 ὄντας, Ὁ δὲ ἐς μὲν Πηλούσιον φυλακὴν κατέστησε, τοὺς δὲ ἄνω τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἱππέας κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν καλοῦσιν ἔστε ἐπὶ Μέμφιν πολὺν αὐτῶν ἀφ' Ἡλιουπόλεως ὄντα, ἐν ἑξῆς ἔχων τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Νείλου, καὶ ὅσα καθ' οἷόν τε χωρία ἐπιτήδεια τὸν στρατὸν κατασχεῖν διὰ τῆς ὁρμῆς ἀφίκετο
4 ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπὶ δύο τοῦ πόρου ἦκεν ἐς Μέμφιν. Καὶ θύει ἐκεῖ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τῷ Ἄπιδι καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐπέστησε γυμνικὸν τε καὶ μουσικὸν· ἦκον δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἀμφὶ ταῦτα τεχνῖται ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οἱ δοκιμώτατοι. Ἐκ δὲ Μέμφεως ἐστείλατο κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης, τούς τε ὑπασπιστὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν

BOOK III

1 Alexander now set forth for Egypt his original goal[1] and marching from Gaza he arrived on the seventh day at Pelusium in Egypt. His fleet was coasting along with him from Phoenicia towards Egypt, and he found them already at anchor at Pelusium. Mazaces the Persian who had been appointed satrap of Egypt by Darius, when he learnt both the result of the battle of Issus and the shameful flight of Darius and also that Phoenicia, Syria and the greater part of Arabia were in Alexander's hands, being moreover without any Persian force received Alexander in a friendly way into the cities and the country. Alexander for his part brought a garrison into Pelusium and bade the admiral of his fleet sail up the river as far as Memphis, he meanwhile went towards Heliopolis with the river Nile on his right hand. All the districts on his route he took over by surrender of the inhabitants, and through the desert he reached Heliopolis. Thence he crossed the river and came to Memphis. There he sacrificed to Apis and also to the other gods, and held a contest both athletic and literary, the most famous artists in these branches came to him there from Greece. From Memphis he sailed down stream towards the sea, taking on board the

[1] That is, the original object of his southerly march, held up for a time at Tyre.

λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ
τοὺς ἱππέας τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἦλθε τοῦ τοῦ στόματος
6 ἦλθον δὲ ἐς Κοσσαῖον καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ λιμένα τὸν
Μακρὸν ναυστολήσαντες ἀνθρώπων ἔρημον τῶν Ἀλε-
ξάνδρου τελῶν φασιν. Ἀλέξανδρον στρατοπε-
δεύσασθαι. Καὶ ἔοικεν αὐτῷ ὁ χῶρος κάλλιστος στρατο-
πέδου τοῦ αὐτοῦ τούτου καὶ τειχισθῆναι ἐς εὐθυμοτέρου τοῦ τείχους.
Πεῖσαι οὖν λαμβάνει αὐτὸν τοῦ ἔργου καὶ αὐτὸς
τὰ σημεῖα τῇ τείχει ἔθηκεν, ἵνα τε ἀνάγκη ἐς
αὐτῇ διατρίβειν ἦν καὶ τρὶς ἦν καὶ θεὸς
ἔστησεν τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου Τρῳάδες δὲ λιμένες,
καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ᾗ τειχίζεσθαι. Καὶ ἐπὶ
τούτοις ἔθυσεν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἐφάνη.

11 Λάγετας δὲ τὸν καὶ τοξάρχην λόγος οὐκ
ἄκοντα ἐκόντα ἔθηκεν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου κατα-
λιπεῖν αὐτὸν τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ τείχισμα τοῦ
τούτου, ἐν εἶναι δὲ ἔτι τὸν γῆν ἀνατρέψοντα
τὸν δὲ τούτου τινὰ ἀνάφρασθαι, ἵνα δὲ
τοῦχοι ἔλθοιεν ἐς στρατιὰν ἰσχυρὸν ξυναγα-
γόντα ἐπιβάλλειν τῇ τῇ ἴσατις ὁ βασιλεὺς
ἐφήγειτο, καὶ τὸν κύκλον οὗτο περιγράφοντα τοῦ
7 τειχίσματος ἔστιν τῇ τοῦ ἔτους. Τοῦτο δὲ
ἐπελέξασθαι τοὺς μάντεις καὶ μάλιστα δὲ
Ἀμφιτρίωνα τὸν Τελμησσέα. Ἐν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν
καὶ ἄλλα ἀλόγιστα λόγοις Ἀλεξάνδρου φασὶν
ἐπιδείξασθαι ἐκεῖνον τὸν τοῦ τε ἄλλου καὶ τῶν
δὲ γῆς καρπῶν εἶναι.

8 Ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα ἀπέστειλεν ἐς
Λίγυστιν, καὶ ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Τευθίωνα
τε ἀποστάντα Περσῶν σφίσι προσθέσθαι καὶ
ἥβη καὶ ἄνδρας Περσῶν προσχωρῆσαι, καὶ

ships his guards the architect and the Agrianian, and of the cavalry the royal squadron of the Companions. When he had reached Lanidus and sacrificed around Lake Mareotis he came ashore just where is now the city of Alexandria, named after Alexander. It struck him that the position was admirable for founding a city there and that such a city was bound to be prosperous. He was therefore filled with eagerness to get to work and himself marked out the ground plan of the city both where the market place was to be laid out, how many temples were to be built, and to honour of what gods some of those Greek and Ion, the Egyptian and where the wall was to be built round it. In view of all this he offered sacrifice and the sacrifice proved favourable.

II. A story of the following sort is told and I can see no reason to disbelieve it. Alexander desired to mark beforehand for the builders the ground-plan of the fortification, but had nothing wherewith to mark the ground. One of the builders, however, had the happy thought of sprinkling the meal which the workmen carried in vessels, and of dropping it upon the ground wherever the king led the way. Thus the circle of the surrounding wall which he proposed to make for the city was marked out. The workmen and among them especially Cleomenes the Naucratian, who was reported to have made many other shrewd proposals to Alexander, collected upon this mark and that the city would be prosperous in all respects but especially in the fruits of the earth.

Meanwhile Hegelochus arrived by sea in Egypt and reported to Alexander that Tyrrhon had revolted from the Persians and joined the Macedonians in that they had joined the Persians against their will.

Χίων ὅτι δὴ ὁ δῆμος ἐστασιάσατο κρῖναι δικαστὰς τῶν
κατηγορούντων τοῦ πολέμου τὸν Ἀπτοφαλάνην τε καὶ
Φαρναβάζου ἐγκωμιαστήριον εἶναι δοκοῦν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς,
καὶ Φαρναβάζου ἐγκωμιαλήθοντα καὶ Ἀριστο-
μάχου Μιλήσιον τὸν τυράννου τοῦ Χίων τὸν ἐπὶ
τοῦ λιμένος τῆς Χίου ξὺν ὁπλίταις ληστικοῖς
ποτε, ὅτε ἐφ' ἑρμαίων τοῦ λιμένος οὐ τυχόντα,
ἀλλ' ἐξεπιστήσαντα γὰρ πρὸς τοῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
ἔχοντος τοῦ λιμένος, ὅτι τὸ Φαρναβάζου ἅπα-
ντιῶν ὁμοῦ δὴ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ μὴ λῃστὰς
ποιεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς κατασκοπὴν πρὸς τῶν Ἀριστο-
μάχου ἐς ἅγα γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίδου
τοῦ Χίων καὶ Φιλώτου καὶ Μενάνδρου καὶ τοῦ
ἄλλου ὅσοι τῶν τε ἀποστατῶν τῶν Χίων
ξυνεπελάβοντο καὶ ὅσοι τῷ τότε τὰ πράγματα τῆς
νήσου βαρέα εἶχε· καὶ Μιτυλήνην δὲ Χάρητα
ἔχοντα ὅτι ἀφείλετο καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου τοῦ ἐν
Λεσβῳ πολέμου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπολέμησε πρότερον.
Ἀμφότερα δὲ αὖ ἐξήνεγκε ψῆφον ἐπὶ Κῷ
ἐπιπλεῖν· ἐπιτήδεια γὰρ εἶναι τοῦ Κόνωνος
καὶ αὐτὸν κατασκευάσαι ὅτι εἴη τῇ Κῷ πρὸς
Ἀμφότερον ὀδὸν ἐχούσῃ καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἄλλου
ὅσου ἀγαθοῦ ἦσαν Ἡγήσιχος Φαρναβάζου
δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Κῷ λαβὼν τοὺς φίλους. Ἀλ-
ξανδρος δὲ τοὺς τυράννους μὲν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς
πολέμοις ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τέρπει, χρησάμενος ὅτου
ἐδέησεν τοῦ δὲ αὖθ Ἀπολλωνίδου τοὺς Χίους
ἐς ἐπιφανεστέρους πολιτείας ἐξωτικὰς ἐκριβοῖ ἐπαῖρων.

III. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ πόθος καταβαίνει αὐτὸν
ἐλθεῖν παρ' Ἄμμωνα ἐς Λιβύην· τὸ μὲν τί τῷ
θεῷ χρήσασθαι ὅτι ἀνῆκεν ἐλέγετο εἰκαιότερα
εἰπεῖν

the people of Chaeronea had invited him and he went into the city despite those whom Lysimachus and Pharnabazus had settled in the city and who were in possession of it. Moreover that Pharnabazus had been captured there and with him Aristonous the despot of Methymna who had sailed into the harbour of Chaeronea with five pirate ships not having learnt that the Macedonians had possession of the harbour. He had also been moved by those who guarded the entrance of the harbour who asserted that Pharnabazus' fleet was in the roadstead there: the pirates indeed had been set down by his own men but Alexander let him go to Lysimachus with Apollonides the Chian and Phrasias and Megarenus, and as the rest who had assisted the revolt of the Chians and at the time being were commanders in command of the government of the island. He requested also that he hand over Mytilene from Chares who was holding it and had received it on surrender the other cities in Lesbos also. Amphoterus with sixty ships he had sent to Cos for the people of Cos asked them to come: and he had seized himself of Tyre and found it already in the possession of Amphoterus. As the remaining captives Hegesistratus brought in except Pharnabazus, who had slipped his guards in Cos and escaped. Alexander sent the despots who came from the cities to their cities on that the citizens might take such vengeance upon them as they pleased: but those with Apollonides the Chians he sent to the city of Lacedaemonians of Egypt with a strong guard.

III. After this an overmastering desire came upon Alexander to pay a visit to Ammon in Libya: partly to consult the oracle, since the oracle of Ammon was

μαντεῖον τοῦ Ἄμμωνος καὶ χρήσασθαι αὐτῷ Περσέα τε καὶ Ἡρακλέα, τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Γοργόνα ὅτε πρὸς Πολυδέκτου ἐστέλλετο, τὸν δὲ ὅτε παρ' Ἀνταῖον ἦει ἐς Λιβύην καὶ παρὰ
3 Βούσιριν ἐς Αἴγυπτον. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ φιλοτιμία ἦν πρὸς Περσέα καὶ Ἡρακλέα ἀνὸ γένους τε ἐόντι τοῦ ἀμφοῖν καὶ τὰ καὶ αὐτὸν τῆς γενέσεως τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἐς Ἄμμωνα ἀνενεῖκαι, καθάπερ οἱ μῦθοι τὴν Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Περσέως ἐς Δία. Καὶ οὐκ παρ' Ἄμμωνα ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἐστέλλετο, ὡς καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀτρεκέστερον εὑρεῖσθαι ἢ
2 ἄνευ τοῦ ἐγνώσεσθαι. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ Παραιτονίων παρὰ θάλασσαν ἦν δι' ἐρήμου, οὐ μέντοι δι' ἀνύδρων τῆς χώρης, σταδίους δὲ χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἐτράπετο, ἵνα τὸ μαντεῖον ἦν τοῦ Ἄμμωνος. Ἔστι δὲ ἐρήμη τε ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ψαμμώδης ἡ πολλὴ
4 αὐτῆς καὶ ἀνύδρου. Ὕδωρ δὲ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολὺ γενέσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀνενεχθῆ. Ἀνενεχθῆ δὲ δὴ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας τοὺς ἅπαν στενοχωρίῃ δὴ ἀσιτίῃ τῇ χώρῃ, τῆς ψαμμώδους διαφορὴ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐστὶ μεγάλη, καὶ ἀφανίζεται τῆς ὁδοῦ τὰ σημεῖα οὐδὲ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἵνα χρὴ παρατείνεσθαι καθάπερ ἐν πελάγει τῷ ψαμμῳ, ὅτι σημεῖα οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν οὔτε τῶν ἀρῶν οὔτε ἐνύδρων οὔτε φλοιοῦ βεβαίου ἀνατετμημένου, οἷσπερ οἱ ἀνθρωποι τὰς ἀμαξιτοὺς ἐν τῇ πορείῃ, καθάπερ οἱ ναῦται τοῖς ἄστροις· ἀλλὰ ἀνελοῦντο γὰρ ἡ στρατιὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ
5 οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀμφίβολοι ἦσαν. Πτολεμαῖος μὲν δὴ ὁ Λάγου λέγει ἀρσενόπους δύο ἴδειν

reputed to be infallible, and Perseus and Heracles were both said to have consulted it. Perseus when he was sent by Polydectes to destroy the Gorgon, and Heracles when he was journeying into Libya to find Antaeus and into Egypt to find Busiris. Then, besides, Alexander felt a kind of rivalry with Perseus and Heracles, being descended from them both, may he also traced his descent in part from Ammon, just as the legends traced the descent of Heracles and Perseus from Zeus. In any case he set out for Ammon with this idea, hoping to learn about himself more accurately, or at least to say he had so learnt.

As far as Paraetonium he advanced along the coast through country which though desert is not wholly waterless, a distance of sixteen hundred stades, as Aristobulus tells us. Thence he turned into the interior where the oracle of Ammon was. The way thither is desert, most of it is sand, and waterless. Alexander, however had plenty of rain, and this too was attributed to the divine influence. This also was attributed to divine power, wherever the south wind blows in that country. It masses a great heap of sand upon the route and obscures the marks of the road, and one cannot get one's bearings in the sand any more than at sea, since there are no marks along the route nor any mountain anywhere nor tree nor solid hillocks standing up, by which the wayfarers might get some making of their proper course, as sailors do from the stars: the fact was, indeed, that Alexander's army fairly went astray, and the guides were in doubt as to the route. Now Ptolemaeus son of Lagus says that two serpents

πρὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος φόνου ἔστιν, καὶ τούτους Ἀλέξανδρον κελεύσαι ἀνελεῖν τοὺς ἁπάντων πονηροτάτους τῷ βίῳ· τοὺς δὲ πεπαυμένους τοῦ βίου καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ ἐς τὴν αἰδῶ
6 Ἀμφοτέρους δὲ καὶ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος λόγῳ τοιῷδε ἐπεξέρχεται, σύμβασιν δύο στρατοπέδοιν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγκην, τοὺς μὲν νικῆσαι Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς ἁπάντας. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν θεῖον τὸ ξυνετὸν ἐκεῖνο ἔχειν ἀγνοοῦσιν οὐδείς· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὸ καλὸν τοῦτο ἔχει τὸ δι' ἀνάγκης τοῦ λόγου ἀφελέσθαι οὐ δίκαιον καὶ ἄλλῳ γε ἢ αὐτῷ ἐξηγεῖσθαι.

11 Ὁ δὲ χειμὼν εὐθὺς τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου τὸ ἱερὸν ἔσχε. τά μὲν οὖν ἄλλα θαυμάσια καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐλέχθη· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ μάντις ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκείνου τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιφανὴς ἐς τὸν Ἕλληνα ἐπεφώνησεν (ἐπεφώνησε γὰρ ἑκάστοτε ὁ προφήτης ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον ἰδίᾳ καὶ φανερὸς
8 οὐδενὶ πρὸς τοῦ πατρός). Καὶ σπουδῇ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἄνωθεν εἶναι τὸ ἐπιφώνημα τὸν πατρικὸν ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν ἀπ' Αἰακοῦ. Ἐς μὲν γὰρ τὴν μητρῶαν ψυχὴν τὸ ἴδιον γενεαλογεῖν τε καὶ ὅτι μᾶλλον ἀγαπᾶσθαι εἰκὸς ψυχωτάτου ἀνδρὸς· ἐς δὲ τὸν φίλιππον ἐς αὐτὸν θαρσύνειν καὶ ὅτι τὸν δοκοῦντα ὅτι θαρσύνειν ἀνάγκη τοῦτον καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦτον θαρσύνειν· ὅτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκείνου ψυχῆς ἐν τάξει, καὶ διότι ψυχρὸν ἤδη ὄντι ψυχρότατον δὲ μαντεῖόν τε καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ἀμμωνίοις ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ τῆς ἐρήμου.
9 Γίγνονται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα αὐτόματα ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐσκεπτο. Καὶ τούτων ἔστιν οἷς ἡ λίμνη τὸ φαινόμενον τῶν ὑδάτων τύπτει τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν λιμνάσιον στοιβάσαντες, ἐς

preceded the army uttering speech and Alexander bade his leaders follow them and trust the divine guidance and the serpents did actually serve as guides for the route to the oracle and back again. But Aristobulus with the more common version has it as follows: two crows flying in advance of the army acted as guides to Alexander. That some divine help was given him I can confidently assert because probably it also inclines this way but the story has been deprived of exact truth by the way in which various writers about Alexander have given various accounts.

IV. The district in which the Temple of Ammon lies is desert all round, covered with sand and without water. But the site in the centre is small; its broadest stretch was reckoned to be about forty stades and is full of garden trees, olives and palms, and it alone, of all the surrounding country, catches the dew. A spring too rises from it, not at all like ordinary springs which rise from the ground. For at midday the water is cold to the taste and even more to the touch; it is as cold as can be; then when the sun sinks towards evening it is warmer, and from evening on it grows warmer and warmer till midnight, and at midnight it is at its warmest; but after midnight it cools off in turn, and from dawn onwards it is already cold, but at midday coolest. This goes on in due rotation day by day. There are natural salts in this district, to be obtained by digging; some of these salts are taken by priests of Ammon to Egypt. For wherever they are going towards Egypt, they pack the salt into baskets woven

σκοπίαν πλεύσας δὲ φασιν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐλθεῖν θύσων
6 τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀνοφθησομένῳ ἢ εἰ τῷ ἄλλῳ. Ἔστι
δὲ μαντεῖον τὸ ἐν χωρίῳ καὶ ὕδωρ τινὲς αὐτόθεν καὶ
ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱματισμοῦ, καὶ καθαρὸν ὕστερον
κρυστάλλου καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι τοῖς θυσίαις χρῶνται,
ὡς καθαρώτερον τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ὕδατος. Λέγονται τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλα τοῦ θεοῦ οἱ
6 ἀρχεῖα ἔχοντες. Ἐνταῦθα Ἀλέξανδρος τόν τε
χῶρον ἐθαύμασε καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἐχρήσατο καὶ
ἔπεμψε δὲ αὐτῷ τροφὰς θυσιῶν ἡμ., ὡς Πλάγων,
ἐνιζήσων τε Λιγυστῶν, ὡς μὲν Ἀριστοβούλῳ
λέγει, τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπηκόων ὄντων· ὡς δὲ Πτολεμαίῳ
τῷ Λάγου, ἄλλην εἰδέναι ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Μεμφίν.

V Ἐς Μεμφίν δὲ αὐτῷ πρεσβεῖαι τε πολλαὶ
ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦσαν, καὶ αἱ μὲν ἔστιν ἃς ἐπὶ
ἀνοχαῖς ἐποιοῦντο ἐν οἷσι ἀνεστρέφετο καὶ στρατιὰ
παρεσκευάζετο παρὰ μὲν Λιγυστίνου μισθοφόρων
Ἑλλήνων δὲ τετρακισχιλίων, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Μενέδημος ὁ
Ἡγησάνδρου, τῶν Θρᾳκῶν δὲ ἱππέων δὲ τετρακοσίων ὧν ἦρχε Λυκάγχης οἶμαι ὁ Εὐίππου.
1 Ἐνταῦθα θύει τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πομπεύει
ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ δι' ὅπλων καὶ ἀγῶνα τιθεῖ
γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικόν. Καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν
Λίγυστιν ἐνταῦθα διοικεῖται· δύο μὲν τυράννω
Λιγύστιν κατεστησάτην Λιγυστῖνον, Δολόασπιν
καὶ Πετισίαν, καὶ τούτοιν διένειμε τὴν χώραν τὴν
Λιγυστινῶν· Πετισίᾳ δὲ ἀνατιθεμένῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν
2 Δολόασπιν ἐδίδοτο τασσε. Φοινικάρχους δὲ
τῶν στόλων τὸν μὲν Μεμφίτην μὲν Πανταλέοντα κατεστησε τὸν Πυθέου τὸν δὲ Ἡλιοπολίτην Πολέμωνα
τὸν Μενελάου· Πελλαῖον τὸν ξένον δὲ ἄρχειν
Λυκίων Λύκιλλα, γραμματέα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ξένοις

of palm leaves and take them as a present to the king or to whomever one. The grains of this salt are large, some of them have been known to be more than three fingers breadth and [illegible] as clear as crystal. Both Egyptians and others who are particular about [illegible] use this salt in their sacrifices as being purer than the [illegible]. There Alexander observed the rite with wonder and also made his enquiry of the god. He received the answer he had desired as he said, and turned back towards Egypt, as Aristobulus says giving the name not here but to Prasiacus son of Lagus sons, another was thereof to Memphis.

5 There came to him at Memphis a good many embassies from Greece and he sent no one away disappointed of his request; and also a force from Amyntas joined him (seven hundred [illegible] four hundred) strong under the command of Menelaus son of Hegesander. From Thrace came [illegible] about five hundred, under command of Agathon[illegible] son of Tyrimmas. Thereupon Alexander marched to Paraetonium the king and held a [illegible] with his forces under arms and held an [illegible] contest. He also put Egyptian affairs in order, he appointed two Egyptians governors of provinces, Doloaspis and Petisis, dividing the whole country of Egypt between them. Petisis however governed the other and Doloaspis took it all over. As garrison commanders at Memphis he appointed Pantaleon of Pydna of the territorial troops and to Peloponnesian Peucestas son of Macartatus of Pella to command the mercenaries, Lycidas, an Aetolian, and as ruler in charge of the

Εὐγνώστου τοῦ Ξενοφάντου τοῦ σταλέντος ἀπὸ
Κασσάνδρου ἐπὶ αὐτὸν Ἀντιγόνου τε καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ
4 Χαλκίδα. Λυθὲν δὲ τὸ πρόσχημα ἔρχεται
ἐλάσας Ἀπολλωνίαν Χαονίας. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῆς
πρὸς Ἤπειρον πύλας Κλεόμαχον τὸν τῶν Νικαίου
τίνας καὶ τοῦτον παραγγέλλατο τοῦ μὲν πεζικοῦ
ἄρχειν τοῦ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ὅσον ἐκ τῆς
8 Ἤπειρου. Συμπέμπουσι δὲ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ τοξότας
ἵππους τε Ἀγριάνας ὑπελείποντο Πανίστας τε τοὺς
Μακεδόνων καὶ Βαλλαίους τοὺς Ἀμύντου τοῦ
ἄρχοντας δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν μὲν Πανίστων τοῦ Θηραμένους
σωματοφύλακα δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀρριδαῖον τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ
Υἱωνοῦ· ἦγεν Ἀρριδαῖος γὰρ τοὺς ἀνιόντας
12 Ἀνάβασιν δὲ καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ τάγματος,
καὶ αὐτὸς τούτου ἄρχων ἐπόμενος τοῖς τάγμασιν
Πελληναίων Κρητῶν. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ξυμπᾶσιν
τοῖς πεζοῖς, ὅσοι Βαλλαίων πεζοὶ ἅμα Βαλλαίοις
ἐς Ἀσίαν ὑπελείποντο Καλλαῖνος ἐστρατήγει
16 ἵππαρχος. Κατεστήσατο δὲ λόγῳ τε πολλοὺς
τῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς Ἀσίας, τῇ τε φύσει τῇ χώρᾳ θαυμάσας καὶ τῇ εὐτυχίᾳ. Ἐπὶ οὖν
ἐφάνη τε ἐφάμιλλος τῇ ἐπιτροπῇ ἧς
Ἀσίας ἔσχε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μετὰ ταῦτα
Ἀλεξάνδρου μᾶλλον ἢ φιλικῆς ἕνεκα
Ἀσίας καὶ μόνοις τῶν ἄλλων ἐς τοῦτο δὴ τοῦ
ἀνηκόντων ὑπήκοον Ἀσίαν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐς τοῦτο
ἰσχύος οὐδὲν ξυντελούντων.

VI Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἅμα τῷ ἥλῳ ἐνισταμένου
ἐς Μεμφίδα ἐκ τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ συμφυσᾶσθαι

[1] Ἀνάβασις, Ἄνω ἐστὶν ἀνόντι, compare VI 28. 4.

[illegible] Pagnates son of Xenophantes, one of the hetairoi, and to them overseers Archebius and Epicydes of Cherrin. As governor of the neighbouring country of Libya he appointed Apollonius son of Charrius, and of Arabia about Heroopolis, Cleomenes from Naucratis. He instructed him to permit the district governors to govern their own districts as had been their way of doing, but that he was to exact from them the tributes which they were ordered to pay them to him. As generals of the army which he was leaving behind in Egypt he appointed Peucestas son of Macartatus and Balacrus son of Amyntas and as admiral of the fleet Polemon son of Theramenes; and as bodyguard in place of Archebius he appointed Leonnatus son of Ocanes, Archebius having left Egypt. Antiochus also the commander of the archers had died and in his place Alexander appointed as commander of the archers Cleomenes of [illegible]. Over the allied infantry of which Balacrus had been commander he set Alcetas as general, since Balacrus was being left behind in Egypt. It is stated that he divided the government of Egypt between many officers both from his surprise at the nature of the country and its strength, since it did not appear to him safe to entrust the command of all Egypt to one man. The Romans, too, I think, imitate a system from Alexander and keep Egypt under guard and never send anyone from the Senate as governor of Egypt but only those who are entrusted among them as Knights.

VI. When Spring began to show itself Alexander started from Memphis in the direction of Phoenicia,

αὐτῷ ἔ τε κατὰ Μέμφιν πόρος τοῦ Νείλου καὶ αἱ ὑπερχυτ αὐτοῦ τάφροι. Ὡς δὲ ἐφίκετο ἐς Τύρον, καταλαμβάνει ἐνταῦθα ἥκοντα αὐτῷ ἤδη καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. Ἐν Τύρῳ δὲ αὖθις θύει τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικὸν τε καὶ μουσικόν. Ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται παρ' αὐτὸν ἐξ
2 Ἀθηνῶν ἡ Πάραλος πρεσβεύσουσα ἄγουσα Διοφάντου καὶ Ἀχιλλέα· ξυνεπρέσβευον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Πάραλοι ξυνόντες. Καὶ οὗτοι τῶν τε ἄλλων ἔτυχον ὧν ἔσπευδον ἐπαλήλυθάς τε καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀφῆκεν Ἀθηναίους ὅσοι ἦσαν Γρανικῷ Ἀθηναίων
3 ἁλόντων. Τὰ δὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἔτι αὐτῷ νεωστὶ πραθέντα ἀπηγγέλλετο, Ἀμφοτέρους πέμπειν βοηθοὺς Πελοποννησίων ὅσοι ἐς τὸν τῶν Περσῶν πόλεμον βεβαίως ἦσαν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐ κατημέλουν. Φοιτεῖ δὲ καὶ Κυπρίους πρεσβεύσασθαι ἕκαστον παῖδα ἄλλας πρὸς αἷς ἔχουσι Ἀμφοτέρους
4 ἔπεμπε στέλλειν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσου. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἤδη ἔπλει ὁρμᾶτο ἐς ἐπὶ Θαψακὸν τε καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, ἐν Φοινίκῃ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρῶν τὴν ξύλλογὴν καταστησας Κοίρανον Βερροιαῖον, Φιλόξενον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου ἐπιτρέψας. Τὸν ξὺν αὐτῷ δὲ χρημάτων τὴν φιλακὴν ἀντὶ τούτων ἐπέτρεψεν Ἀρπάλῳ τῷ Μαχάτα ἅτε ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἥκοντι.
6 Ἄρπαλος γὰρ τά μὲν πρῶτα ἔφυγε, Φιλίππου ἔτι βασιλεύοντος, ὅτι πιστὸς ἦν, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔφυγε καὶ Νέαρχος ὁ Ἀνδροτίμου καὶ Ἐοιγνιος ὁ Λαομέδοντος καὶ Λαομέδων ὁ τούτου ἀδελφός, ὅτι ἑπόντα ἦν Ἀλεξ-

a bridge was made for him over the River Nile at Memphis and over all the canals also. When he reached Tyre he found there the fleet already arrived to meet him. At Tyre he sacrificed a second time to Heracles and held an athletic and dramatic contest. There the *Paraetoi* from Athens met him, bringing as envoys Diophantus and Archeus; the other envoys of the *Paraetoi*[1] were associated with them in the embassy. These, relieved at the decree of their friends, and Alexander gave up to the Athenians all the Athenian captives taken on the Granicus. Learning that the grain the Peloponnesians had taken a turn towards rest at in his favour he sent Amphoterus to help such Peloponnesians as were well-disposed as regards the Persian war and were not prepared to listen to the Lacedaemonians. Orders were therefore given to the Phoenicians and Cyprians to sail to the Peloponnese a hundred ships over and above those he was despatching under command of Amphoterus.

Alexander himself was already starting inland towards Thapsacus and the River Euphrates having as Coreanus a Beroean over the collection of taxes in Phoenicia and Phoenicians to be exacted on land, this side of the Taurus. The guard-ship of such matters as were with him he entrusted to two of those officers, to Harpalus son of Machatas, just returned from exile, for this Harpalus had on the first entrance been sent into exile when Philip was still on the throne because he was [illegible][2] and Philoxenus son of Eupolis was seized on the same account and Neoptolemus son of Arrhibaeus and Eurylochus son of Lacrates and Lacrates his brother, these Alexander had various suspicions towards

[1] Envoys all from citizens. [2] To Amyntas.

δεδρα δε Φιλιππου, ἐπειδὴ Εὐρυδίκην γυναῖκα ἔγημε Φιλίππου. Ὀλυμπιὰδα δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξ-
6 ἀνδρου μητέρα ἄτιμον. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Φιλίππου κατελθοῦσα ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἔκτα καὶ αὐτὴν ἐφόνευσε. Πτολεμαῖον μὲν σωματοφύλακα κατέστησε, Ἀρπάλου δὲ ἕνεκα τῶν χρημάτων, ὅτι αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα ἐς τὰ πολέμια ἄχρειον ἦν. Ἕρμογενες δὲ στρατηγὸν τῶν ἱππέων, Λεοννάτου δὲ τοῦ τούτου ἀδελφοῦ, ὅτι διηγήσατο ἦν ἐς τὰ βαρβαρικὰ γράμματα, ἅτε τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις βαρβάροις, Νεάρχου δὲ σατράπην Λυκίας καὶ τῆς ἐχομένης Λιβύης χώρας ἔστε
7 ἐπὶ τοῦ Ταύρου τὸ ὄρος. Ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Ἰσσῷ γενομένης ἀνανεοῦσθαι πρὸς Ταυρίσκον, ἄνδρα κακὸν, Ἀρπάλου φεύγοντος ξὺν Ταυρίσκῳ. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ταυρίσκος παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἠπειρώτου δεῦρο ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐστάλη ἅμα στελοῦντος· Ἀρπάλῳ δὲ ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ ἡ φυγὴ ἦν. Ἀλλ' Ἀλεξάνδρου φεύγοντος αὐτὸν κατέλαβεν πίστασθαι δοὺς αὐτὸν οἱ μένειν ἐνθάδε ἔστε τῆς φυγῆς αὐδὲ ἔγνωστο ἀναπλέοντι, ἀλλ'
8 ἅτε τῶν χρημάτων αἴθις ἐπαγθὴ Ἀρπάλῳ. Ἐς Λιβύην δὲ κατέπλευσε Μενάνδρου ἐπιτάσαντος τῶν ἑταίρων ἅτε δὲ τοῦ ξένου, ἐς ὃν ἦγεν Μενάνδρου, Κλεάρχου αὐτῷ ἐπαγθὲν ἅτε δὲ Ἀρπάλῳ κατέπλευσεν Σίμμιας Ἀσκληπιοδώρου τοῦ Κυπρίου ἅτε ἐκ Σάμου, ὅτι Ἀρπάλῳ βλακεύσαι ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ παραπλεύσει πρώτῃ ἐπαγθὴ παραπλεύσαντι τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἄνω.

VII Καὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς Ἄμμωνος Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν ἕνεκα θεοπρόπιον ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν

[1] γραμματέα τοῦ Βασιλέως.

Philip, because Philip had taken Eurydice to wife, and had treated with contumely Olympias the mother of Alexander. On Philip's death those who were in exile on Alexander's account returned, and of them he appointed Ptolemaeus one of the body-guards, Harpalus an officer of finance, since his bodily strength was not equal to fighting, Eurylus commander of the allied cavalry, and Laomedon his brother, since he knew, besides his own, the Persian language, officer in charge of the Persian captives; Nearchus he made satrap of Lycia and the country bordering upon Lycia as far as Mount Taurus. To return to Harpalus, not long before the battle of Issus he was led astray by Tauriscus an evil man, and fled with Tauriscus, who made his way to Italy to Alexander of Epirus, and died in Italy. Harpalus, however, took refuge in the Megarid. Alexander, however, persuaded him to return, giving him assurances that he would not suffer at all for this flight of his, and sure enough he did not suffer but was set again in charge of the treasure. He sent to Lydia as satrap Menandros, one of the Companions, setting Clearchus in command of the mercenaries of whom Menandros had charge. In place of Arimmas he made satrap of Syria Asclepiodorus son of Eurycus, since he considered Arimmas to have malingered in the matter of supplying such things as he had been ordered to supply for the army detained for the march into the interior.

VII. Alexander arrived at Thapsacus in the month Hecatombaeon, when Anatophanes was

'Αρτεμισίου καὶ ἀστακηνῶν ἄνδρα τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐποιήσατο τὸν τύραννον. Καὶ τὸν Μαζάκην ὃν ὁ Δαρεῖος ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας μισθοφόρους ἐπιτάξας τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῇ, καὶ ὃς τάχιστα ἐπύθετο ὁ Μαζάκης τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλαύνοντα, ἔπεμψε τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιθησομένους. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν ἀλλήλων, ἐπιστὰς ὁ Μαζάκης τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἱππεῦσιν ἐκέλευσε μὴ ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μηδὲ ἐπιβῆναι τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἀναστρέφειν ἐπὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπεραιώθη ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Μαζάκην ἐπῆλθε, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκέλευσε μὴ ἐπιδιώκειν ἐς πολύ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Μαζάκην ἐλάσας ἐπεδίωκε. Καὶ ὁ Μαζάκης ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς ἦν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀφεὶς τὸν ἵππον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐφέρετο, καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τὸν Μαζάκην ἐφέρετο. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Μαζάκης ἔβαλε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀκοντίῳ, ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν Μαζάκην ἔβαλε δόρατι. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Μαζάκης ἀπέθανε τῇ βολῇ, ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τὸν Μαζάκου ἐπεβίβασε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἵππον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον ἐπανῆλθε.

Ἔνθα δὲ ἐγένοντο ἀμφὶ τὸν ἀφανισμὸν ἤδη τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἄραξον καὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐν τοῖς Μεσοποταμίοις καλουμένοις χωρίοις. Ὅτι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ Βαβυλῶνος ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἀπωκισμένη τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκούντων τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ εὐτείχιστον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τὸ ἄστυ αὐτῇ πᾶσα ἐν εὐφορίᾳ. Ἐλεύσεσθαι δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην ἀπαγγελθὲν ἐκπλῆξαι ἀπροσδόκητον ἐπιστρατεύσαντα τὸν Δαρεῖον καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγριος ποταμοῦ ἐκβάντας, ἄγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ ἤδη ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐπιστρατεύσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ ἐν ἢ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἐπῆλθε. Ταῦτα Ἀλέξανδρον ἀκούσαντα ἐπανελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγριν. Ὅτι δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον κατέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἐπιόντι ἤδη τοῦ φθινοπώρου ὥρᾳ ἀναλαβόντα Δαρεῖον ἐκ τῶν ἀκαίρων τοῦ ποταμοῦ χειμάτων μὴ ἐξιέναι τοῦ ἀμφὶ τὸν ποταμὸν πεδίου, ἀνδρῶν τε εἵργεσθαι

archon at Athens. There he found the river bridged by two bridges. The fact was that Mazaeus, to whom Darius had entrusted the guarding of the river with about three thousand cavalry and of these two thousand being Greek mercenaries for some time kept his guard over the river and so the bridge had not been completed by the Macedonians right up to the opposite bank for fear that Mazaeus troops would attack the bridge at its extremity, but Mazaeus on learning that Alexander was already marching up hurried off with all his forces. So soon as ever Mazaeus fled the bridges were thrown right over to the far bank and Alexander crossed over with his troops.

Thence he continued inland keeping on his left the Euphrates and the mountains of Armenia, through the country called Mesopotamia. But on leaving the Euphrates he did not head direct on Babylon, since going by the other road he found everything more convenient for the troops, and it was easy to obtain fodder for the horses and any necessaries from the country, and, what is more, the heat did not burn so strongly. Some few men captured from those who had broken off from Darius' army for scouting reported that Darius was encamped on the River Tigris, determined to check Alexander should he try to cross. Darius, they said, had a much larger army than that with which he had fought in Cilicia. On hearing this Alexander hurried off towards the Tigris but on arriving there he found neither Darius himself nor the guard which Darius had left behind. Yet he crossed the river, with difficulty it is true on account of the swiftness of the current, but without any attempt at hindrance.

6 Ἐντεῦθεν διανομὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ πολὺ ἐλάσσονι ἤγετο καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἴδων τῷ τε σκήνει καὶ τῇ πλήρ καὶ τῇ γῇ, ὅτῳ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο λογῳ εἶναι ἐπέτρεψε. Καὶ εἶναι Ἀριστοτέλην τὸν Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον εἶναι τῆς σκήνης τὸ πάθημα καὶ ἔστιν τοῦ μηνὸς ἕκτῃ καὶ μάχη καὶ ὡς τοῦ
7 ἱππικοῦ πολὺ ἐπικρατέστερα. Ἀλέξανδρος Ἄρπαλον ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας χώρας τὸ ἀριστερὸν μέρος ἔχων τὸ Παρμενίωνος ἔργον τὸ δεξιὸν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Τίγρητι. Τεταγμένης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἅπαν τῆς διαβάσεως τὸ πρόβλημα αὐτῷ ἐξαγγελθὲν ὅτι ἵππεις εἶναι πολλοὶ καὶ τὸ πολὺ φαινόμενον ἅπαν δὲ οὐκ ἔχειν ἀκριβῶς. Ἐπιτάξας οὖν τῷ στρατιᾷ πρὸς χώραν ἐπὶ δὲ μάχην καὶ ἄλλην ἐξ τῶν προβόλων προσκαλούμενος ἀφ' ἑβδόμης ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ἡ χιλιὰς τῶν ἱππέων
VIII Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὸν τε Βασιλικὸν Πεζὸν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων μέρη καὶ τῶν προβόλων τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἤλαυνε συνεχῆ, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον στρατιὰν βάθος ἑκατὸν ἐποίουν. Ὁ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν στρατὸς πᾶν ἐναντίον τοῦτο ἀφ' Ἀλεξάνδρου εἶχεν ἀναπεπταμένον ἐφόρουν ἀπὸ κέρατος. Καὶ Ἀλέξ-
8 ανδρος ἅπασαν ἐπέκεινα καὶ ἐς μέρη πολλὰ ἀνεῴγμενα, τοὺς δὲ τίνας καὶ ἀνεστεῶτας ἔχοντας ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἅπασιν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας αὐτοὺς ἔστιν ἅπασιν καὶ πολὺ τούτου ἐπιθεῖν ὅτι οὐ πολὺν εἶχε Δαρεῖος ξὺν δυνάμει πολλῇ
9 Βεβουλεύκεσαν γὰρ Δαρεῖος ἵππου τὸ ἔσω Βακτριανοὺς ἅπασι καὶ αὐτοὺς Βακτρίους καὶ Σογδιανοὺς τούτους μὲν πάντων φησὶν Βηρσαντ ὁ τῆς

There he gave his army a rest three days there was an almost total eclipse of the moon. Aristander mentioned to the Moon, to the Sun, to the Earth, who are all said to be concerned in an eclipse. Aristander concluded that the eclipse was favourable to the Macedonians and Alexander and that the battle would take place during that ninefold moon and that the sacrifices portended victory to Alexander. Then leaving the Tigris, Alexander passed through the country of Assyria with the Gordyaean mountains on his left and the Tigris on his right. On the fourth day after the crossing his advance scouts reported that enemy cavalry were sighted here over the plain but they could not guess their numbers. So drawing up his force he advanced as to battle, when other scouts rode in and these having had a more precise view reported that they thought the cavalry to number not above a thousand.

VIII Alexander then taking with him the royal squadron one squadron of companions and from among the advanced scouts the Paeonians moved on ordering the rest of the army to follow at marching pace. But the Persian cavalry observing the troops with Alexander coming up rapidly set no time in flight. Alexander pursued in pursuing and though the greater number of them got off the Greeks slew some whose horses wearied in the flight, and captured others alive with their mounts. From these they learnt that Darius was not far off with a large force.

This was because there had come to the help of Darius much of the cavalry on border upon the Bactrians, with the Bactrians and Sogdians themselves, all these were under the command of Bessus

Βακτρίων χώρας σατράπην. Ἔσπετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Σακῶν Σκυθῶν τὸ γένος τῶν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπικαλουμένων Σκυθῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἦσαν Βῆσσοι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ συμμαχίαν τῶν Δαρείου· ἦρχετο δὲ αὐτῶν Μαυάκης· αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπερέβαινε τοὺς
4 ἄλλους. Βαρσαέντην δὲ Ἀραχωτῶν σατράπην Ἀραχωτούς τε ἄγειν καὶ τοὺς ὁμόρους Ἰνδοὺς ἐκάλουν μετοίκους. Σατιβαρζάνης δὲ ὁ Ἀρείων σατράπης Ἀρείους ἦγε. Παρθυαίους δὲ καὶ Τραγασίους καὶ Ταπυρούς[1] τοὺς ταύτῃ ἐθνικοὺς ἦγε Φρατάφερνης ὁ
5 Μήδων δὲ ἦγεν Ἀτροπάτης· ξυνετάττετο δὲ Μήδοις Καδουσίους τε καὶ Ἀλαρόδιοι καὶ Σακεσῖνοι. Τοὺς δὲ παραλίους τῇ Κασπίᾳ θαλάσσῃ Οὐιτιδάρνης καὶ Ἀριόβαρζάνης καὶ Ὀρξίνης ἦρχον. Ὀξεῖς δὲ καὶ Σουσιανοὶ ἦγεμόνα παρεῖχοντο Ὀβάρην τὸν Ἀβουλίτου. Βουτάρην δὲ Βαβυλωνίων πρῶτοι Ὀξυάθρης ὁ ἀνεψιὸς Κύρου καὶ Στρούχατες ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων
6 ἐστρατήγουν. Ἀρμενίων δὲ Ὀρόντης καὶ Μιθραυστὴς ἦρχε καὶ Ἀρμένης Καππαδόκων. Συρίους δὲ τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν Συρίας Μαζαῖος ἦγεν. Ἐλέγετο δὲ ἡ πᾶσα στρατιὰ ἡ Δαρείου εἶναι μὲν ἑπτακισμυρίους, πεζοὺς δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ἐλάττους μυριάδος, καὶ ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἑκατόν, ἐλέφαντας δὲ οὐ πολλῷ πλείους ἑκατὸν τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἄγειν.

7 Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει τῷ τετρακοσιοστῷ ἔτει Δαρείῳ ἐβασίλευε Γαυγαμήλοις τοῖς πρὸς ὄρεσι Βουμήλοις[2] ἄρχων Ἀρβήλων τῶν πολλῶν ἄστεα ἐξακόσια ἐπῴκει,

[1] A form used (II. 11. 4) by Ptolemy.
[2] Known elsewhere from VI. 11. 3.

the satrap of Bactria. With these there came also certain Sacae, a Scythian people, of the Scyths who inhabit Asia, not as subjects of Bessus, but owing to alliance with Darius. Massaces was their commander, and they were mounted archers. Barsaentes satrap of the Arachotians led both the Arachotians and the Indian hillmen, as they are called. Satibarzanes satrap of the Areians led the Areians. But the Parthyaeans, the Hyrcanians and the Tapurians, who were all cavalry, were commanded by Phrataphernes. Atropates led the Medes, along with the Medes were ranged Cadusians, Albanians, and Sacesinians. The tribes bordering on the Red Sea were marshalled by Oecondobates, Ariobarzanes, and Orxines. The Uxians and Sousianians acknowledged the leadership of Oxathres son of Aboulites. Bupares was in command of the Babylonians. The Carians who had been transplanted and Sitacenians were brigaded with the Babylonians. Of the Armenians, Orontes and Mithraustes were commanders, of the Cappadocians, Ariaces. The Syrians of Lowland-Syria and all from Mesopotamian Syria were under Manaces. The number of Darius' forces was given as 40,000 horse, 1,000,000 foot, 200 scythe-chariots, a few elephants, the Indians on this side of the Indus having some fifteen.

With this army Darius had encamped at Gaugamela by the River Bumodus, about six hundred stades from the city Arbela, in a position level on all

δε γεωργ αμαλφ τουτη Και γαρ και δυο δυναμεις αυτου σε ιππεων ταυτα δε ες πολλου οι Περσαι τοις το δορατιον ενελαυνουσι συνεβησαν και τη ιππω ιππευσαι Ησαν γαρ οι αντιπαλοι Δαριου υπερ της τυχης Ιασφ γενομενης μαχης ότι δη ιπποκρατησει των χωρων τη στενοτητι και Δαριος ου χαλεπως επειθετο

IX Ταυτα ως εξηγγελθη Αλεξανδρω τρεις τε καταστησαντα των Περσων δυο ταλαντα, δωσειν αυτου ίππω εξηγγελθη ημερας τεσσαρας και την τε στρατιαν ες την αδον αγουσαν, τα δε στρατοπεδα ταφρφ τε και χαρακι ενιχυσαν Ετυχε γαρ τα μεν σιτοφορα ανελοντων και δυο των στρατιωτων απομαχη ηκων αυτος δε βιη τους μαχιμους ουδεν αλλο ότι μη δυλα 3 φερουσιν ισους δε την αποραν Αναλαβων ουν την δυναμιν ουκετι ηγεν αμφι δεκατεραν φυλακην μαλιστα, ως αν ημερα τροσαιξαι τους βαρβαρους Δαριος δε ως προσηγγελθη αυτφ προσιεναι δπλ Αλεξανδρον επεσθαι την στρατιαν ως ες μαχην και Αλεξανδρον ηγεν ωσαυτως τεταγμενους Και αυτοις μεν αλληλοις τα στρατοπεδα δυο εξηκοντα σταδιους απ μεν των καθημενων αλληλους γηλοφω γαρ δε μεσφ διειργοντο αμφοιν δυοιν

2 Ως δε αυτοις Αλεξανδρου δυο δε τριακοντα σταδιους απ αυτων ην της γηλοφου ήδη αυτω ο στρατος ανεφαινετο ες οδον τους βαρβαρους, ιδοντας την αυτου φαλαγγα και ξυνεκλησας αυτους τε τους[1] σταδιους και στρατηγους και ιλαρχας και τους επιμαχους τε και τους

[1] αὐτοὺς τε Βοσε.

sides. For what few uneven parts for cavalry there had been the Persians had mostly made convenient both for chariot driving and for cavalry to ride over; for certain persons persuaded Darius that in the battle of Issus he had, all said and done, suffered disadvantage from the narrowness of the battle-field, and Darius very readily assented.

IX. On receiving this information from the captured Persian scouts, Alexander stopped where he had received it, for four days, he rested his army after their march and strengthened his camp by a ditch and palisade. For he had decided to leave behind the baggage animals and any non-combatants among his men, and himself with the combatant troops to advance to the battle burdened with nothing but their arms. He therefore marshalled his force at night and led them off just about the second watch, so as to meet the enemy at dawn. Darius for his part, on hearing that Alexander was already advancing, arrayed his army for battle, while Alexander was bringing up his army also in due battle array. The forces were about sixty stades apart, but did not as yet sight one another, for there were hills intervening in front of both.

When Alexander was about thirty stades away and his army was already descending these hills, sighting the enemy he drew up there his phalanx, and summoning the Companions, the generals, the cavalry commanders, and the commandants of the

μισθοφόρων ξένων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐβούλευσε· οἱ
δὲ αὐτῶν σπανίως ἦσαν τῆς φαλαγγος· ὡς οἱ πλείστους
4 ἄνευ ἱππέων. ἡ καθ' ἑαυτὸν Περσικὴν κόσμον
ἔχων ἐδίδασκε, τότε μὲν αὐτὸν κατεστρατοπέδευεν,
κατασκεψάσθαι δὲ τοῦ τε χώρου ξυνετάσσε οἱ
ἢ τι ἐδέησεν αὐτοῦ ἢ ἄνδρων ἢ εἰ τῇ τάφρῳ
ἢ σκολόπων κατασκευῇ ἀφανεῖ, καὶ τοὺς
τάξεις τῶν πολεμίων ἀκριβέστερον κατίδοι. Καὶ
ἐπεὶ Περσικὸν τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ κατεστρατοπε-
δευσεν αὐτοῦ ἔνιοι τετάχαται ἱππέων καὶ
5 ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς φίλους καὶ
τὸν ὑπηρέτην τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ τεύχους, ἐφ' ἑκάστου
ἑστῶτος τοῦ χώρου τινὸς ἵνα τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ
ἐκκεῖσθαι ἐμέλλεν. Ἐπεσκέψατο δὲ καὶ ξυνετάσσε
αὐτοῖς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τρόπους αὐτοὺς μὲν οὐκ οἶδα
χρῆναι παρακελεύεσθαι τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἑστώτων
τοῖς γὰρ εἶναι δὶ ἀρετὴν τε καὶ ἀφορμὴν παρακελεύσεως καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τελέως ἔχειν καλῶς
6 ἔργου αὐτοδιδάκτους· τοὺς κατὰ φάλαγγος δὲ
ἑκάστους ἐξορμᾶν οἷόν λοχαγὸν τὸν λοχίτας
καὶ ἄρχοντα τῶν ἴλης τὴν αὐτοῦ ἑκάστου καὶ
ταξιάρχους τοὺς ταξίτας τοὺς τε ἡγεμόνας τῶν
τάξεων τῆς φαλαγγος ἑκάστου τῶν οἷς ἐπιτετάχθαι
ἐν ἱππικῇ μάχῃ ἐν ἱππικῇ μάχῃ ἐν ἱππικῇ μάχῃ
Σίνουας ἢ Φοινικῆς ἀεὶ ὑπὲρ λιγνύτου ἐν
προσθέν, καὶ ἐπουρανίους ἄλλα ὑπὲρ τῆς ξυμμαχίας
λόγους οὕτινας χρὴ ἔχειν, ἐν τῷ τότε ἀριθμῷ
7 ἐπιόντων. Ὅτιοῦν τῆς ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ἔξορμᾶν ἐν διὰ
τέλους ἀναγκαῖον αὐτοῖς εἶναι οἴκοθεν τοῦτο
ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ὅτου

[1] ἔχων supplied by Krüger

allies and the mercenary troops, he discussed the question whether he should advance his phalanx at once from that point, as most of them urged, or, as Parmenio thought best, camp for the time being, make a complete survey of the whole ground, in case there should be any part suspicious or impassable, or perhaps ditches, or hidden stakes fixed in the soil, and make a thorough reconnaissance of the enemy's dispositions. Parmenio's advice prevailed and they camped there, but in the order in which they were to engage.

But Alexander, taking with him the light-armed troops and the territorial cavalry, rode all round surveying the ground which was to be the battle-field. Then he returned and again summoned the same officers, and said that there was no need for him to inspire them to the fight, they had long ago been inspired by their own bravery and by their many splendid exploits already done; but he called on each of them to encourage his own men; the infantry captains their companies, the cavalry commanders their own squadrons, the brigadiers their brigades, and the infantry commanders each the phalanx placed under him. In this battle, he pointed out, they were going to fight, not as they had before, for Lowland-Syria or Phoenicia, nor for Egypt, but the sovereignty of all Asia was there and then to be decided. There was then no need for him to stir them to noble deeds by a long speech—such valour was inborn in them—but rather that each in his own

τὴν καθ' αὑτὸν στρατιὰν ἐπιλεκτοὺς καὶ σφῶν ἀμείνους
ἑκάστοτε ἐπιτηδείους ἐποιεῖτο δόκιμα, καὶ αὖ λαμπρὸν
τῆς βουλῆς ἐπῆν τοῖς ἐπιλόγοις κάλλος καὶ ἀλκῆς μνήμη
καὶ φιλοπονώτατον ἑκάστοτε ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι καιροῦ αὐτοὺς
τὸ ἔνδον ἀξιοῦντας κατασκευάζειν τοῦ τε παρόντος
λαμπρύνειν, καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ αὖ ἔργων ἐς τοὺς ὑστέρους
ἀξιοῦν παραδιδόναι τὰ παραγγέλματα· ὃν τε τῷ καθ' αὑτὸν
ἑκάστῳ καὶ τὰ τῶν μαινάδων ξυγκατέδυνεν τὸ ἀμείλικτον καὶ ὃν ἀπιμήλιστα
ἀνοσιουργῶν ξυνεσθύνετο

X Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα οὐ πολλὰ παρὰ
καλοῦ τε καὶ ἀντιπαραλήθειαν πρὸς τὸν τῆς
μοίρας βαρὺν ἐν σφίσι διαντιτασιάσθαι τε καὶ
ἀναπαύσασθαι τοῦ πόνου τὸν στρατόν. Παρόμοιον
δὲ λεγόντων ἐπὶ σφίσιν τὸν ἐν τῷ
φανῷ τοῦτον παρεῖναι σταθῆναι τοὺς Πέρσας
ἐπιφοβοῦντας τε τῷ τοῦ καὶ ἀνατεταραγμένους καὶ
ἅμα δὲ νυκτὸς φοβερωτέρους ἐπιθησομένους. Ὁ δὲ
ἐκέλευε μὴ ἀνταναπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ καὶ ἄλλοις κατηγορεῖν
τοῦ λόγου, ἀσχολίαν εἶναι κλοπῆς τῷ πόνῳ,
ἀλλὰ φανερὰν καὶ ἐπὶ ἔργοις σοφίσμασιν χρῆναι
πόνου λυσιτέλειαν. Καὶ τὸ μεταλλητικὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦτο οὐχ ὑπερῆνεγκε μᾶλλον τι ἢ εὐθαρσὲς
ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν σφίσιν ἐποίησε δόκιμα. Ἐμοὶ καὶ
λεγομένῳ ἀσμένως ἐγχωρεῖν ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε ἐν
νυκτὶ γὰρ τοῖς τε ἀνοχλοῦντας καὶ τοῖς ἐνδόντας
πρὸς τοῦ μαχομένους παρασκευασμένοις πολλὰ τὰ
τοῦ παραλόγου ξυμβαίνειν τοῖς μὲν ἀσφαλῆ τοῖς
ἀμυνομένοις τοῖς χειροῦσθαι δὲ παρὰ τὰ ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς
ἐλπιζόμενα τὸν πόνον παρέχεσθαι· αὐτῷ τε καὶ
ἐνθυμουμένῳ τὸ πολὺ ἐν τοῖς μαχίμοις σφαλερὸν ἢ
πρᾷ κατορθοῦσθαι, καὶ ἅμα φοβουμένῳ τὸ αἰδὼς

heart would think of discipline in danger, and complete silence when they must go forward in silence, and of a ringing cheer when it was right to cheer, and of the most frightful battle-cry when it was time to raise it; and that each should smartly obey orders, and pass on smartly too the orders to the ranks, one and all remembering, and the army as a whole, that in his own neglect there was universal danger, and in his own diligent achievement universal success.

X. With these and similar words, though brief, he exhorted them, and was in turn urged by the commanders to rely on them. So he bade his army take their meal and rest. It is related that Parmenio came to him to his tent and advised him to attack the Persians at night, for he would thus fall upon them unready and confused and more open to panic in the night-time. Alexander, however, replied—since others were listening—that it was a low thing to steal the victory, and that Alexander must win his victory openly and without sleight. This loftiness of his did not seem mere excess of vanity, but rather confidence amid dangers; and as I fancy he reasoned well in this matter, for at night many unforeseen occurrences have happened as much to those who were well prepared as to those who were ill prepared for battle, and have caused failure to the stronger and thrown the victory into the hands of the weaker, contrary to the expectations of both. Alexander as a rule ran risks in his battles, but yet he thought night was too risky, and besides, given one more

Δαρείῳ τὴν ξυγχυσιν τοῦ χειροῦς ὅτι καὶ χειρονων ἡγεῖσθαι ἡ λαθραια τε καὶ νυκτερινη
4 ἐκ σφῶν ἐπιθεσις ἀφηρειτο. εἰ τε τι ἐκ τοῦ παραλογου ὑπαίσιμα σφισι ξυμπεσοι, τοῖς μεν πολεμιοις τὰ ἐναλιᾳ φιλια και αὐτοι τῇ χωρᾳ ἄπειροι· σφεις δὲ ἄπειροι ἐν πολεμιοις τοῖς πασιν, ὧν οὐ μικρὰ μοιρα οἱ αιχμαλωτοι ἦσαν, ξυνεπιθησομενοι ἐν νυκτι μη ὅτι ὑπαισασιν, ἀλλα και εἰ μη παρὰ πολυ νικῶντες φαινοιντο. Τουτων τε τῶν λογισμῶν ἕνεκα ἐπαινῶ Ἀλιξανδρον και τοῦ ἐς τὸ φανερον ὑπεργκου συ μιον.

XI Δαρειον δὲ και ὁ ξὺν Δαρειῳ στρατος αὐτικα ἅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιξαντο ἅμιλλαν τῆ νυκτὸς ξυντεταγμενοι, ὅτι αὐτε στρατοπεδον αὐτοις παρεβεβλητο ἀκριβὲς και ἅμα ἐφοβοῦντο μη σφισι νυκτωρ ἐπιθοιντο οἱ πολεμιοι.
2 Και εἴτερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκακωσε τοὺς Περσας ἐν τῷ τοτε τὰ πραγματα, ἡ στασις ἡ πολλὴ ἡ ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις και το ὄρος, ὃ τιτερ φιλιτ᾽ ὄρα τῶν μεγαλων κινδυνων γιγνεσθαι, αὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παραυτικα σχεδιασθεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν πολλῷ χρονῳ μελετηθεν τε και τῳ γνωμῳ αὐτοὺς δουλωσάμενον.

3 Ἐταχθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιὰ ὧδε· ἐλαια γὰρ ὕστερον ἡ τάξις ἥντινα ἔταξε Δαρειος γεγραμμενη, ὡς λεγει Ἀριστοβουλος. Τὸ μεν εὐωνυμον αὐτῷ κερας οἱ τε Βακτριοι ἱππεῖς εἶχον και ξὺν τουτοις Δαοι καὶ Ἀραχωται· ἐπι δὲ τουτοις Περσαι ἐτεταχατο, ἵππεις τε ὁμου και πεζοι ἀναμεμιγμενοι, και Σουσιοι· ἐπι Περσαις, ἐπι δὲ
4 Σουσιοις Καδουσιοι. Αὕτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ εὐωνυμου πλευρα ἔστι· τὸ μεσον τῆς πασης φαλαγγος

defeat of Darius, the secret attack by the Greeks under cover of night would excuse Darius from any confession of being a worse general with worse troops, while should any unexpected disaster happen to themselves, the enemy had a friendly country round them, with which they were familiar, while they themselves were in an unknown country full of enemies, and of these a good number were prisoners who would be sure to make an onslaught at night, not only in case of failure but even if they did not clearly win a preponderating victory. For these reasons I commend Alexander, and equally so for his bold resolve for a daylight action.

XI. Darius and his army remained during the night marshalled in the order which they had drawn up at first, for they had no proper entrenched camp surrounding them and also they feared all along that the enemy would make a night attack. This more than anything else hampered the fortunes of the Persians at this crisis, their long stand under arms and their fear, such as usually comes before great dangers, not suddenly created from the crisis of the moment, but long dwelt on, and having long since unnerved their minds.

The army was drawn up thus; for, as Aristobulus tells us, the written arrangements as Darius arranged it were afterwards captured. The left wing the Bactrian cavalry held, and with them the Dahans and the Arachotians, next to them were arrayed Persians, cavalry and infantry mixed, and after the Persians Susians, and after the Susians Cadusians. This was the disposition of the left wing

τάξις ἦν· κατὰ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν αὖ τε ἐκ Κοίλης Συρίας καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς μεσης τῶν ποταμῶν ἐτεταχατο, καὶ Μῆδοι ἔτι κατὰ τὸ δεξιόν, ἐπὶ δὲ Παρθυαῖοι καὶ Σῦκαι, ἔτι δὲ Ταπουροι καὶ Τρκανιοι, ἔτι δὲ Ἀλβανοι καὶ Σακεσινοι· οὗτοι μὲν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ μεσον τῆς τυσης φαλαγγος.

3 Κατα τὸ μεσον δε, ἵνα ἦν βασιλευς Δαρειος, αὖ τε ξυγγενεις οἱ βασιλεως ἐτεταχατο καὶ οἱ μηλοφοροι Περσαι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Κᾶρες οἱ ἀπαστατοι καλουμενοι καὶ οἱ Μαρδοὶ τοξοται· Οὐξιοι δὲ καὶ Βαζυλωνιοι καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλασσῃ καὶ Σιτακηνοὶ ἐς βυθὸν ἐπι-

4 τεταγμενοι ἦσαν. Προετεταχατο δὲ ἐπὶ μιᾶς τοῦ ἰσωνυμου κατα τὸ δεξιὸν τὸν Ἀλεξανδρου αἵ τε Σκυθαὶ ἱππεις καὶ τῶν Βακτριανῶν ἐς χιλιους καὶ ἅρματα δρεπανηφορα ἑκατον. Οἱ δὲ Φᾶσσανες ἑστησαν κατα τὴν Δαρείου Πλην τὴν

7 βασιλικὴν καὶ ἅρματα ἐς πεντηκοντα. Τοῦ δὲ δεξιοῦ αὖ τε Ἀρμενιων καὶ Καππαδοκων ἱππεῖς προετεταχατο καὶ ἅρματα δρεπανηφορα πεντηκοντα. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες οἱ μισθοφοροι παρὰ Δαρείου τε αὐτου ἑκατερωθεν καὶ τοὺς ἅμα αὐτῷ Περσας κατὰ τὴν φαλαγγα αὐτὴν τῶν Μακεδονων, ὡς μονοι δὴ ἀντιρροποι τῇ φαλαγγι, ἐταχθησαν.

8 Ἀλεξανδρῳ δὲ ἡ στρατιὰ ἐκοσμηθη ὧδε. Τὸ μὲν δεξιον αὐτῷ εἶχον τῶν ἱππεων οἱ ἑταῖροι, ὧν προετεταχατο ἡ Πλη ἡ βασιλικη, ἧς Κλειτος ὁ Δρωπιδου ἵλαρχης ἦν, ἔπι δὲ ταυτη ἡ Γλαυκιου Πλη, ἑξομενη δὲ αὐτῆς ἡ Ἀριστωνος, ἔπι δὲ ἡ Σωπολιδος τοῦ Ἑρμοδωρου, ἔπι δὲ ἡ Ἡρακλειδου τοῦ Ἀντιοχου, ἔπι ταυτῃ δὲ ἡ Δημητριου τοῦ

up to the centre of the entire phalanx. On the right were marshalled the troops from Lowland-Syria and Mesopotamia, and next, on the right, were Medes, and within them Parthyaeans and Sacians, then Tapurians and Hyrcanians, and then Albanians and Saceasinians, right up to the centre of the entire phalanx. In the centre, where was King Dareius, were posted the king's kinsmen, the Persians whose spears are fitted with golden apples,[1] Indians, the "transplanted" Carians, as they were called, and the Mardian bowmen. The Uxians, Babylonians, Red Sea tribes, and Sitacenians were in deep formation behind them. Then, in advance, on the left wing, facing Alexander's right, were the Scythian cavalry, some thousand Bactrians, and a hundred scythe-chariots. The elephants were posted ahead of Dareius' royal squadron, and fifty chariots. In front of the right wing were posted the Armenian and Cappadocian cavalry and fifty scythe-chariots. The Greek mercenaries, close by Dareius, and his Persian troops, on either side, were stationed exactly opposite the Macedonian phalanx as being the only troops able to meet the phalanx.

Alexander's army was marshalled thus: his right wing was held by the mounted Companions, the royal squadron being in advance of them, it was commanded by Cleitus son of Dropides, next came Glaucias' squadron, next Aristo's, next that of Sopolis son of Hermodorus, next that of Heracleides son of Antiochas, then that of Demetrius

[1] The "apples" were possibly pomegranates or quinces. Apples, however, were symbols of the sun.

Ἀλθαιμένους, ταύτης δὲ ἡγεμὼν ἦν Μελεάγρου. τελευταία δὲ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἰλῶν ἦν Ἡγελόχου ὁ Ἱππόστρατου ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῆς. Ξυμπάσης δὲ τῆς ἵππου τῶν ἑταίρων Φίλιππος ἦρχεν ὁ Παρμενίωνος. Τῆς δὲ φαλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἡγεμὼν τῶν ἱππέων πρῶτον τὸ ἄγημα ἐστήκατο τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπασπισταὶ ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν Νικάνωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος τούτων δὲ ἡγεμὼν ἦν Κοίνου τοῦ Πολεμοκράτους τάξις ἦν μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἦν Περδίκκου τοῦ Ὀρόντου, ἔπειτα ἦν Μελεάγρου τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἦν Πολυσπέρχοντος τοῦ Σιμμίου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἦν Ἀμύντου τοῦ Ἀνδρομένους ταύτης δὲ ἡγεῖτο Σιμμίας, ὅτι Ἀμύντας ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας ἐς χιλίους στρατιὰς ἐσταλμένος ἦν. Τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον τῆς φαλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἦν Κρατέρου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τάξις εἶχε, καὶ αὐτὸς Κρατερος ἦρχε τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἱππεῖς ἑπόμενοι αὐτοῦ οἱ ξυμμαχοι, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἐρίγυιος ὁ Λαρίχου τούτων δὲ ἑπόμενοι ἀκρου ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἱππεῖς, ὧν ἦρχε Φίλιππος ὁ Μενέλαου. Ξυμπάν δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἦγε Παρμενίων ὁ Φιλώτα, καὶ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῶν Φαρσαλίων ἱππεῖς οἱ κρατιστοί τε καὶ πλείστοι τῆς Θεσσαλικῆς ἵππου ἀναστρέφοντα

XII Ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ μετώπου τάξις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὧδε κεκοσμητο ἐτετάχει δὲ καὶ δευτέραν ταξιν ἀκρου εἶναι τῆς φαλαγγος ἀμφίστομον. Καὶ παρηγγέλτο τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων, εἰ κυκλοῦσθαι τοὺς σφῶν πρὸς τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος πατιδοιεν, ἐπιστρεψαντας ἐς τὸ

son of Althaemenes, next Meleager's, and finally of the royal squadrons that commanded by Hegelochus son of Hippostratus. Of the mounted Companions as a whole Philotas son of Parmenio was commander-in-chief. Of the Macedonian infantry phalanx, next to the cavalry was stationed first the picked corps of the bodyguards and then the rest of the bodyguards, they were under Nicanor son of Parmenio, after them came the brigade of Coenus son of Polemocrates, next that of Perdiccas son of Orontes, then that of Meleager son of Neoptolemus, then that of Polysperchon son of Simmias, next that of Amyntas son of Andromenes; this was led by Simmias, since Amyntas had been sent to Macedonia to collect troops. The left of the Macedonian phalanx was held by the brigade of Craterus son of Alexander, Craterus himself commanding the left of the infantry. Following on them came the allied cavalry, under Erigyius son of Larichus; beyond them, right up to the left wing, were the Thessalian cavalry under Philippus son of Menelaus. The commander of the entire left was Parmenio son of Philotas, and round him rode the Pharsalian cavalry, the finest and most numerous of the Thessalian horsemen.

XII This was the order in which Alexander had arranged his front, but he posted a second line so as to duplicate his phalanx. The commanders of this reserve line had been ordered, if they should see their own front line being surrounded by the Persian

1 ἱππικὸν ξενικὸν τῶν Βαρβάρων δὲ ὅσα καμήλους δὲ, εἰ τινες ἄνευρον κατελαμβάνετο ἢ ἀποστείξει ἢ ξυγκλείσει τὸν φύλακα κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἔξιον κέρας εἶχεν τῆς βασιλικῆς ἴλης τῶν Ἀγημάτων ἡγεμὼν ὁ πρῶτος ἀφ' ἵππου Ἄτταλος, καὶ μετὰ τούτου οἱ Μακεδόνων τοξόται, ὧν Βοιωτὸς ἦρχεν· εἶχοντο δὲ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἱ ἀσπιδιῶται καλούμενοι ξένοι καὶ ἦρχεν
2 τούτων Κλεῖτος. Προσεῖχοντο δὲ τῶν τε Ἀγημάτων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἵ τε πρόσκοποι ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ Παίονες ὧν Ἀρέτης καὶ Ἀρέστων ἡγεμόνε. Ἐκπεπτώκεσαν δὲ προτεταγμένοι ἤδη οἱ μισθοφόροι ἱππεῖς ὧν Μίσων ἦρχε. Τῆς δὲ βασιλικῆς ἴλης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑταίρων προτεταγμένοι ἦσαν τῶν τε Ἀγημάτων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἱ ἡμίσεις, καὶ οἱ Βάλλακρον ἀκοντισταὶ οὗτοι κατὰ ἅρματα τὸ ἐρυτροπρόσω ἐστιχάτο·
4 Μενίδη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν παρηγγύκεσαν οἱ τεμνοστόμοι οἱ τελείων τὸ κέρας τοῦτο σφῶν τε πλαγίων ἐπιβάλλειν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπαφησόμενοι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ἐξίου κέρους οὕτως ἐστιχάτο. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τὸ ἐπιπαφησόμενον τὸ ἄλλον ἐστιχάτο, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Σατράπης· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ ξυμμαχικοὶ ἱππεῖς ὧν ἦρχε Κοῖρανος· ἐπὶ δὲ οἱ Θρᾷκες ἱππεῖς ὧν ἦρχε
3 Ἀγάθων ὁ Τυρίμμα. Ἐκπεπτώκεσαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι προτεταγμένοι ἤδη ἱππεῖς οἱ τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὧν Λυσίμαχος ὁ Ἰσχύρου ἦρχε· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς σκευοφόροις οἱ ἀπὸ θώρακος πεζοὶ ἐφύλασσον ἐπεχόμενοι. Ἡ τάξις δὲ στρατιᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱππεῖς μὲν ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλίους, πεζοὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακισμυρίους μάλιστα

host, to wheel round and receive the Persian attack. In case, however, need should arise either to extend out the phalanx or to contract it, the half of the Agrianes under Attalus next to the royal squadron, on the right wing, along with them the Macedonian archers under Bruso, were posted at a slightly inclined angle; next to the archers were so-called old guard of the mercenaries under Cleander. In advance of the Agrianes and the archers were the mounted scouts and the Paeonians, under Aretes and Aristo. In front of the entire body were the mercenary cavalry under Menidas. In advance of the royal squadron and the other Companions were stationed half the Agrianes and archers, and the javelin men of Balacrus who were opposed to the scythe-chariots. Menidas and his troops had been ordered, if the enemy should try to ride round their wing, to wheel and attack them on the flank. This was the disposition of Alexander's right wing. On the left had been posted, also at an inclined angle, the Thracians under Sitalces, and next the allied cavalry, under Coenanus, and then the Odrysian cavalry, under Agathon son of Tyrimmes. In front of the whole body, at this point, was posted the paid foreign cavalry under Andromachus son of Hiero. The Thracian foot had been posted to guard the baggage animals. The entire army of Alexander numbered 7000 cavalry and about 40,000 infantry.

XIII Τὸ δὲ ἀμφὶ ἕλη τὰ στρατόπεδα ἤγετο, ἐφέπων Δαρεῖον τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ μηλοφόρα Πέρσας καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Ἀλβανοὺς καὶ ἃ ὡς ἐπὶ ἀποστάσιον καὶ οἱ Μαρδοὶ τοξόται ἕπονται αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τεταγμένοι καὶ τοῦ ἵππου τῆς βασιλικῆς. Ἦγε δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀριστερὸν τὸ αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου μάλιστα καὶ οἱ Περσῶν ἀντιστάσιον ἱππεφολαγγιστὰς πολὺ ἐπὶ τῷ 2 εὐωνύμῳ. Ἦγε τε οἱ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἵππεις παμπληθεῖς ἔντασιν τῶν προστεταγμένων τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τάξεως καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ δίωξιν ἤδη ἐπὶ ἵππου καὶ σπεύδοντος ἐκ τοῦ ἐξαλλαγέντος τοῦ αὐτοκρατορικοῦ τροπαίου τῶν Περσῶν χώρου. Ἐνθα δὴ ἵππεις Δᾶοι οἱ μὴ προεχωρηκότες ἐς τὰ ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀλλ' ἐπὶ φύσει τεταγμένοι τὰ ἄκρατα, ἐκλείπουσι τοὺς προστεταγμένους τοῦ ἀντικρὺ περιστῆσαι τὸ αὐτῶν τὸ δεξιὸν ἐφ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἤγοντος μᾶλλον πρὸς αὐτοὺς 3 ἐξαίφνης τὸ κέρας. Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐμβαλόντος ἐκλείπουσι τὰ αὐτῶν τοὺς μηλοφόρους ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους Μαρδοὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν· οἱ τὰ Σκυθῶν ἔθνη καὶ τῶν Βακτρίων οἱ ξυντεταγμένοι τοῖς Σκυθῶν τρόπαιον ἵστασιν ἔντας πολλῷ πλείονες. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τοὺς μὲν Ἀριστώνα τε τὸν Πασίου καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἐπιβάλλειν τοῖς Σκύθαις 4 ἐκέλευσε καὶ συνάπτειν τὰ βαρβάρων. Βακτρίων δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι πελασάντες τοῖς Πασίου τε καὶ ξένοις τοῦ τε σφῶν φανέντας ἤδη καὶ στρέψαι τὸ τοῦ μάχου καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ξυνιέναι σπεύσαντας· καὶ ἅτε τῶν πλείστων τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τῷ τε πλήθει τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲ

XIII When the armies now were nearing one another Darius and his immediate kinsmen were in the right there were the Persian spearmen of the so-called Kinsmen Indians Arachosians the transplanted Cadusians and the Mardian archers all ranged over against Alexander's own squadrons Alexander himself moved in their direction in the direction of his right on which the Persians moved according to their left for outflanking the Greeks Against the Scythian cavalry the Paeonian squadron with the Greek horse which the troops posted in front of Alexander's main body but Alexander himself continued steadily his march towards his right, and was nearing the end of the ground which had been trampled over by the Persians On this Darius who feared lest if the Macedonians reached the uneven ground his chariots would be of no service, ordered the troops which were in advance of his left wing to wheel round to the right which Alexander was leading so that the Greeks might not prolong their wing any farther Upon this Alexander ordered his mercenary cavalry under Menidas to charge them At once the Scythian cavalry and the Bactrian which was brigaded with the Scythians darted out to meet him and by sheer weight of numbers drove them back But Alexander ordered Ariston's brigade the Paeonians and the mercenaries to charge the Scythians on which the Persians wavered The rest of the Bactrians however joining up with the Persians and the Greek troops at once restored to the battle those of their own men who were turning to flight and thus made the cavalry engagement a close one Alexander's men fell in greater numbers, overwhelmed with the number of

βαίζοντες καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ οἱ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς ἀκριβέστερον ἐς φυλακὴν πεφράγμενοι ἦσαν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτε τας τε προσβολὰς αὐτῶν ἐδέχοντο οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ βιᾳ κατ' ἴλας προστιπτόντας ἐξωθοῦν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως.

6 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ ἅρματα τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἐφῆκαν οἱ Βαρβαροι κατ' αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὡς ἀναταράξοντες αὐτῷ τὴν φάλαγγα. Καὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα ἐφοβήθησαν τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἶδος αὐτῶν προσφερὲς κατεσκευάσαντο οἵ τε Ἀγριᾶνες καὶ οἱ ξὺν Βάλακρῳ ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ προτεταγμένοι τῆς ἵππου τῶν ἑταίρων· τὰ δὲ τῶν ῥιπτόρων ἀντελαμβάνοντο τοὺς τε ἀναβάτας κατέκτεινον 7 καὶ τοὺς ἵππους περιεστάμενοι ἔσχον. Ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ διέφυγεν διὰ τῶν τάξεων διὸ γὰρ, ὅπερ παρηγγέλτο αὐτοῖς ἵνα προστιπτόντα τὰ ἅρματα καὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα ξυνάπτοντα τὰ σώματα καὶ οἷς ἐνηλάθη αβλαβῆ διελθεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων οἵ τε ἱππόμοι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιᾶς καὶ οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ οἱ βασιλικοὶ ἐκράτησαν.

XIV. Ὡς δὲ Δαρεῖος ἐνῆγεν ἤδη τὴν φάλαγγα πᾶσαν, ἐνταῦθα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Ἀρετὴν μὲν εἶλαται ἐμβαλεῖν τοῖς περιιστᾶσιν τὸ κέρας αὖθις τὸ δεξιὸν ἐς τὸ κυκλοῦσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἑπτὶ 2 κέρως τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἦγε· τῶν δὲ ἐκβοηθησάντων ἵππεων τοῖς κυκλουμένοις τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν παραρρῆξαντων τι τῆς πρώτης φαλαγγος τῶν Βαρβάρων, ἐπιστρέψας κατὰ τὸ διέχον, καὶ ὅπερ ἐμβόλου ποιήσας τῆς τε ἵππου τῆς ἑταιρικῆς καὶ τῆς φαλαγγος τῆς ταύτῃ τεταγμένης, ἦγε ὁρμῇ τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ ἐπὶ ἑπτὶ αὐτοὺς κέ-

the Persians, and also because the Scythians' riders and horses alike were but very poorly protected by defensive armour. Yet even so the Macedonians stood up against their onsets and, facing on both sides, squadron after squadron broke their formation.

Meanwhile the Persians launched their scythed chariots direct upon Alexander in the hope of throwing his phalanx also out of formation; but in this they failed signally. For in the first place as soon as they approached, the Agrianes and the javelin-men under Balacrus who had been stationed forward to screen the Companion cavalry met them with volleys; and secondly they smashed at the reins, poured down the drivers, and encircling round the horses cut them down. One or two did pass right through the Greek lines for as they had been ordered their parted squadrons where the chariots attacked, and thereby it fell out that the chariots passed through unscathed and the troops against which they were driven were unscathed also. These chariots too were afterwards overpowered by the grooms of Alexander's army and the royal body-guards.

XIV. When now Darius brought on his complete phalanx, Alexander ordered Aretes to charge the Persian cavalry which was wheeling round the Greek right wing to encompass it. He himself for a short time led on his army in column, but when the cavalry who had been sent off to attack the Persians wheeling round the Greek right had broken in some degree the front of the Persian phalanx, he wheeled towards the gap, and making a wedge of the Companion cavalry and the part of the phalanx which was at this point, he led them on at the double, and, with a

3 Δαρείον. Καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα ὀλίγον ἐν χερσὶν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο· ὡς δὲ οἵ τε ἱππεῖς οἱ ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος εὐρωστοῦντες ἐνέκειντο ἀθυμοῦσί τε χρωμένοις καὶ τοῖς ξυστοῖς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν Περσῶν κεντοῦντες, ἥ τε φάλαγξ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ πυκνὴ καὶ ταῖς σαρίσσαις πεφρικυῖα ἐμβεβληκει ἤδη αὐτοῖς, καὶ πάντα ὁμοῦ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ πάλαι ἤδη φοβερῷ ὄντι Δαρείῳ ἐφαίνετο, πρῶτος αὖτος ἐπιστρέψας ἔφευγεν· ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ περιεστηκότες τῶν Περσῶν τὸ κέρας ἐμβαλόντων ἐς αὐτοὺς εὐρωστοῦντας τῶν περὶ Ἀρετην.

4 Ταυτῃ μέν δὴ τῶν Περσῶν φυγὴ πάντερα ἦν, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐφεπόμενοι ἐφόνευον τοὺς φεύγοντας. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Σιμμίαν καὶ ἡ τούτου ταξις οὐκέτι συνεξορμήσαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δυνατοὶ ἐγένοντο ἐς τὴν δίωξιν, ἀλλ' ἱστησαντες τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτοῦ ἠγωνίζοντο, ὅτι τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν
5 Μακεδόνων πονεῖσθαι ἠγγέλλετο. Καὶ ταυτῃ παρήρραγείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς ταξεως, κατὰ τὸ διὰ χεν διαπεπτωκὸς τῶν τε Ἰππων τινες καὶ τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐσω πάντερον ἐγίγνετο. Οἵ τε γὰρ Περσαι θρασεως ἐνέκειντο ἀσπλοις τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ οὐ προσδοκησασι τὴν σφᾶς διεκπεσεισθαί τινας διακοψαντας διπλῆν τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ οἱ αἰχμαλωτοι βαρβαροι ἐμβαλλοντων τῶν Περσῶν ξυνεπεθεντο καὶ αὐτοι τοῖς
6 Μακεδόσιν ἐν τῳ ἔργῳ. Τῶν δὲ ἐνιτεταγμένων τῇ πρωτῃ φαλαγγι οἱ ἡγεμονες ὀξεως, μαθοντες τὸ γιγνόμενον, μεταβαλοντες, ὅπερ παρηγγελτο

loud battle cry, straight at Darius. Now for some little time it became a hand-to-hand fight; but when the cavalry with Alexander and Alexander himself, pressed hard on the enemy, thrusting the Persians and striking their faces with their spears, and the Macedonian phalanx, solid and bristling with its pikes, had now got to close quarters with them, and Darius, who had now long been in a state of fear, saw nothing but terrors all around, he was himself the first to turn and ride away. Those also of the Persians who were riding to envelop the Greek right took fright at the vigorous charge of Aretes and his men.

At this point, indeed, the Persian rout was complete, and the Macedonians following up kept slaughtering the fugitives. But Simmias' staff and the brigade under him were unable to join up with Alexander for the pursuit, but halted their phalanx where it was and continued the struggle, since the Macedonian left was reported to be in difficulties. And at this point their formation was broken, and through the gap there thrust some of the Indians and of the Persian cavalry right up to the Macedonian baggage animals; and here the action was becoming severe. For the Persians boldly fell upon their adversaries, being mostly unarmed men, and having never dreamt that anyone would make a cleavage through the phalanx, doubled as it was, and break right through to them; when it came, the Persian captives themselves, as the Persians broke in, joined with them in the attack and fell upon the Macedonians. However, the commanders of the troops which formed the reserve to the first phalanx, learning what had happened, smartly turned about face, according to previous orders, and so

αὐτοῖς τὴν τοξικὴν ἐπιγίγνονται κατὰ νώτου τοῖς Πέρσαις, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτοῦ ἀμφὶ τοῖς σκευοφόροις ξυνεχομένους ἀπέκτειναν οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀγαλλιασάμενοι ἐφέποντο. Οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τῶν Περσῶν, οὕτω τῆς φυγῆς τῆς Δαρείου γαθόμενοι, περιπτερυσάντες τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐωνύμου κατὰ κέρας τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Παρμενίωνα ἐνέβαλον.

XV Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀμφιβόλων τὰ πρῶτα γιγνομένων τῶν Μακεδόνων, πέμπει Παρμενίων παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου σπουδῇ ἀγγελοῦντα ὅτι τὸ ἀγὼν ξυνίσταται τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς καὶ βοηθεῖν δεῖ. Ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ μὲν ἐμέλησεν ἔτι ἀπιστοῦντα, ἐπιστρέψας δὲ αὖ τῇ ἵππῳ τῶν ἑταίρων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Βαρβάρων ἦγε δρόμῳ. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς φεύγουσι τῶν πολεμίων ἵπτευσι, τοῖς τε Παρθυαίοις καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἅτε οἷς καὶ Πέρσαις τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ
2 κρατίστοις ἐμβάλλει. Καὶ ἱππομαχία αὕτη καρτερωτάτη τοῦ πάντος λόγου ξυνίστατο· ἐς βαθὸς τε γὰρ, οἷα δὴ ἱλαδὸν τεταγμένοι, ἀπεστρέφοντο οἱ Βάρβαροι καὶ ἀντιμετώπους τοὺς ἀμφ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ξυμπεσόντας οὔτε ἀκοντισμῷ ἔτι οὔτ' ἐξελιγμοῖς τῶν ἵππων ἦσαν ἱππομαχίας δίκῃ, ἐχρῶντο. ἀλλὰ διεκπαίσαι πᾶς τις τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν, ὡς μόνην ταύτην σωτηρίαν σφίσιν οὖσαν ἐνεγόμενοι, ἔκοπτόν τε καὶ ἐκόπτοντο ἀφειδῶς· οἷα δὴ οὐχ ὑπὲρ νίκης ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς ἔτι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας οἰκείας ἀγωνιζόμενοι. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πίπτουσι μὲν ἀμφὶ ἑξήκοντα τῶν ἑταίρων τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τιτρώσκεται Ἡφαιστίων τε αὖτις καὶ Κοῖνος καὶ Μενίδας ἀλλὰ ἐκράτησε καὶ τούτων Ἀλέξανδρος

appeared in the rear of the Persians and slew large numbers of them, crowded together as they were round the baggage animals. Some, however, gave way and so escaped. The Persians of the right wing, meanwhile, not having wind yet of Darius' flight, wheeling round Alexander's left, were making a flank attack on Parmenio's troops.

XV At this, since at first the Macedonians were between two fires, Parmenio sent to Alexander a despatch rider to report with all haste that his troops were in a desperate position and needed help. Alexander receiving this message turned back from further pursuit, and wheeling round with the mounted Companions came galloping down on the Persian right and charged first such of the enemy's cavalry as were in flight, the Parthyaeans, some Indians, and the main host and the strongest of the Persians. Here raged the fiercest cavalry engagement of the whole action. For being drawn up by squadrons, and so in column, the Persians wheeled round and clashed with Alexander's troops front to front: there was no javelin-throwing and no manoeuvring of horses, such as are usual in a cavalry engagement: but each tried to break his way through whatever opposed him, pressing on as if this were their one hope of safety. So they continued beating and battering with no quarter given, as men now no longer fighting for someone else's victory, but for their own very lives. There about sixty of the Companions of Alexander fell, and Hephaestion himself, Coenus, and Menidas were wounded.

3 Καὶ τούτων μὲν δύο διέφευγον[1] διὰ τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἵππων· ἄνω κρούσας Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἔγγυς ἦν προσμίξαι ἤδη τῷ δίφρῳ περατι τῶν πολεμίων. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἱππεῖς λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι οὐκ ὑπελείποντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ ἔργου· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔφευγον ἤδη οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τῶν Βαρβάρων, ὅπερ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτοῖς ξυνεμίξεν, ἅμα στρατοπεδευόμενος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὸ διώκειν αἰθις Δαρεῖον ἐξώρμησε καὶ ἐδίωξεν ἐστε φως
4 ἦν· καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Παρμενίωνα τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς διώκοντες εἵποντο. Ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν διαβὰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Λύκον κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο αὐτοῦ· ὡς ἀναπαύσας δὲ τοὺς τε ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους Παρμενίων δὲ τὸ στρατοπεδεύον τῶν Βαρβάρων εἶλε καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὰς καμήλους.

5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναπαύσας τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἵππους ἐστε ἐπὶ μέσας νύκτας προυχώρει αἰθις κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπ' Ἀρβήλα, ὡς Δαρεῖον τε αἱρήσων ἔτι καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν τὴν βασιλέως· καὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς Ἀρβήλα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, ἑκκαίδεκα τοὺς πάντας ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης σταδίους μάλιστα δὲ ἑξακοσίους. Καὶ Δαρεῖον μὲν οὐ κατέλαμβανε ἐν Ἀρβήλοις, ἀλλὰ ἔφευγεν οὐδὲν τι ἐλλείπουσι Δαρείου τὰ χρήματα δὲ ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ ἡ κατασκευὴ πᾶσα, καὶ τὸ ἅρμα τὸ Δαρείου αἰθις ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ ἡ ἀσπὶς αἰθις καὶ τὰ τόξα αὖλις.

6 Ἀποθανὼν δὲ τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνδρῶν

[1] Diodorus Polish, not I. 2. 6.

Yet even these foes did Alexander overcome, and those of the Persians who contrived to pass through Alexander's troops took to headlong flight. But Alexander was now ready to come to blows with the enemy's right wing, and here the Thessalian cavalry, who fought gloriously, had been no whit behind Alexander in the action, in fact those on the enemy's right were already taking to their heels when Alexander approached them, so Alexander turned back again and began once more his pursuit of Darius, and he pursued as long as the light held, and Parmenio's troops followed, pursuing their late opponents. But Alexander crossed the river Lycus and there encamped, to rest a little both his men and horses, but Parmenio took the Persian camp with the baggage trains, elephants, and camels.

Alexander rested his cavalry till towards midnight, and hurried on to Arbela, hoping to seize Darius there and his treasure and all the other royal belongings. He arrived at Arbela next day, having covered in all, since the battle, six hundred stades in the pursuit. However, he did not catch Darius at Arbela, for Darius had continued his flight without delaying; yet the treasure was captured there and the other belongings, including the chariot of Darius, which was again captured, and his spear too and bow and arrows were taken a second time.

Of Alexander's troops upwards of a hundred

μὲν ἐς ἑκατὸν μάλιστα, ὅσοι δὲ ἐκ τε τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ τῆς κακοπαθείας τῆς ἐν τῇ διώξει ὑπερ τοὺς χιλίους, καὶ τούτων τὴν ἑταιρικὴν ἵππον σχεδόν τι οἱ ἡμίσεες. Τῶν βαρβάρων δὲ πεζοὶ μὲν ἐλέγοντο ἐς τριακοσίους μυριάδας, ἱππεῖς δὲ πολλῷ πλείονες τῶν ἀποθανόντων καὶ οἱ ἐλεφαντες καὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων ὅσα μὴ κατέκοψεν ἐν τῇ μαχῃ.

7 Τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῇ μαχῃ ταύτῃ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις Ἀριστοφάνους μηνὸς Πυανεψιῶνος καὶ Ἀριστάνδρῳ ξυνεβη ἡ μαντεία ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ ἐν ὅτῳ ἡ σελήνη ἔλειψιν ἔφυγε, τήν τε μαχην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τὴν νικην γενεσθαι.

XVI Δαρεῖος μὲν δὴ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης παρὰ τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἀρμενίων ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Μηδίας, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ οἵ τε Βάκτριοι ἱππεῖς, οἳ τότε ἐν τῇ μαχῃ ξυνεταχθησαν ἔφευγον καὶ Περσῶν οἵ τε συγγενεῖς οἱ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν μηλοφόρων
8 καλουμένων οὐ πολλοί. Προσεγένοντο δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ξένων ἐς διακοσίους οἵδε Παρών τε ὁ Φωκεὺς καὶ Γλαύκων ὁ Αἰτωλὸς ἦσαν. Ταύτῃ δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ φυγὴ ἐπὶ Μηδίας ἐγίγνετο ὅτι ἐῴκεσι τὴν ἐπὶ Σούσων τε καὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἥξειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ τῆς μαχης, ὅτι οἰκουμένη τε ἐκείνη πᾶσα ἦν καὶ ὁδὸς τοῖς φευνοφόροις οὐ χαλεπὴ, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἄθλον ἡ Βαβυλὼν καὶ τὰ Σοῦσα ἐφαίνετο, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ Μηδίας μεγάλῳ στρατεύματι οὐκ εὔπορος.

9 Καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθη Δαρεῖος Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἐξ Ἀρβήλων ὁρμηθεὶς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος εὐθὺς

perished, but of horses, from wounds and distress in the pursuit over a thousand, and among these nearly half of the Companions' horses. Of the Persian dead were counted some three hundred thousand but even a greater number of prisoners were made than the slain and the elephants and such chariots as had not been destroyed in the battle were also captured.

So ended this battle in the archonship at Athens of Aristophanes and in the month Pyanepsion.[1] Thus Aristander's prophecy came true, that in the self same month in which the moon was eclipsed Alexander's battle and victory should occur.

XVI. As for Darius, he fled straight from the battle by the Armenian mountains towards Media, and with him the Bactrian cavalry as they had been posted to him in the battle and also of the Persians the royal kinsmen and the greater number of the spearmen of the Golden Apple. These joined him during the flight also some two thousand of the foreign mercenaries led by Parmenion the Phocian and Glaucus the Aetolian. The reason why he fled towards Media was because he imagined that Alexander after the battle would take the road to Susa and Babylon, since all that part was inhabited and the road itself was easy for the baggage trains and besides Babylon and Susa naturally seemed to be the prize of the war. The road to Media, on the contrary, was not good for a large force.

Darius was not mistaken, for Alexander leaving Arbela at once took the road to Babylon. He was

[1] October, 331.

παρέχεται. Ἦλθε τε οὖν παρὰ Βαβυλῶνος ἐς
Σοῦσα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ξυντεταγμένον οἱ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα
ἔσχε καὶ ὁ Βαβυλῶνιος παρέσχεν ἑκόντα αὐτῷ
ξυν ἱππεῦσι τε ὀφθῆναι καὶ ἀγαγεῖν, ἅτε τὸν
ἄνδρα φίλιον καὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἑταίρων καὶ
4 τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὰ χρήματα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ
παρελθὼν ἐς τὸν Βαβυλῶνα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπῄνεσε
καθ' ὅσον ἐπιτηδεύματα περιττεύει Βαβυλωνίους,
τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸν Βῆλον τὸν ἐν μέσῃ Βαβυλῶνι
θῦσαι τιμῶντα Βαβυλωνίων. Σατράπην δὲ κατ-
έστησε Βαβυλῶνος Μαζαῖον. Ἀποτελέσαντα δὲ
τὸν Ἀμφοτέρων στρατηγὸν τὸν μετὰ Μαζαίου
ἀποδεικνύουσι στρατιώτην, καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου
5 τὸν Φιλίππου τοῦ Φηναίου ἑκατόνταρχον. Κατ-
έστησε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίαν Μιθρίνην σατράπην,
ὃς ἦν ἐκ Σαρδέων παρεσκεύασε Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ
δυνάμει. Ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Χαλδαίοις ἀνεσιν,
καὶ δῶρα εἶναι Χαλδαίοις ἀφῆκε τὰ μὲν τὰ ἐν
Βαβυλῶνι ἐνόντα τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸν Βῆλα αὐτῶν
ὃ ἐστιν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι θῆσαι.

6 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Σοῦσα ἐστέλλετο· καὶ ἐντυγχά-
νει αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡ τε τοῦ Σουσίνου κα-
τασκοπὴ καὶ παρὰ Φιλόξενον ἀπεσταλκὼς
Φιλόξενος γὰρ ἐπῆλθε τῇ τοῦ μάχῃ ἐπὶ Σούσοις
ἑστῶτι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. Τῷ δὲ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ παρὰ
Φιλόξενον ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ὅτι τῶν τε τόκων οἱ
Σούσιοι παρεσκευάσαντο καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα
7 ἐκόμισαν ἐπὶ Ἀλέξανδρον. Ἀφικομένου δὲ ἐς Σοῦσα
Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐκ φυγῆς ἐλθὼν
καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὸν τόκον τὰ τε χρήματα
παρέλαβεν ἅπαντα ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἐν τοῖς τόκοις, καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κατασκευὴν τὴν βασιλι-

now not far from Babylon, and was leading his force in battle order, when the Babylonians came to meet him in mass, with their priests and chief men, each section of the inhabitants bringing gifts and offering surrender of the city, the citadel, and the treasure Alexander entering Babylon bade the Babylonians build up again the temples which Xerxes destroyed, and especially the temple of Bel, whom the Babylonians honour before all gods. He appointed Mazaeus satrap of Babylon and Apollodorus of Amphipolis guard of the troops left behind with Mazaeus, and Asclepiodorus son of Philo to collect the taxes. He sent also as satrap to Armenia Mithrines, who had given up the acropolis of Sardis to Alexander. It was at Babylon he came across the Chaldaeans, and he carried out at Babylon all that the Chaldaeans suggested in regard to sacrifices, sacrificing especially to Bel, according to their instructions.

He himself, however, set out towards Susa, and there met him on the way the son of the satrap of Susa and a letter-carrier from Philoxenus, whom Alexander had sent to Susa directly after the battle. In Philoxenus' letter it was stated that the people of Susa had yielded up the city and that all the treasure was in safe-keeping for Alexander. In twenty days from Babylon Alexander arrived at Susa; he entered the city and took over the treasure, about fifty thousand talents of silver, and all the rest

ων. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κατελήφθη αὐτοῦ, ὅσα Ξέρξης ἄνω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄγων ἦλθε, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ λιμένιον καὶ Ἀμαζόνιος καὶ Ἀμαζονητικαὶ
8 γυναῖκες εἰσιοῦσαι. Καὶ ταύτας Ἀθηναίοις στῆσαι νόμος Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ νῦν εἰσιοῦσι Ἀθηναίων οἱ Κεραμεικὸν οἰκοῦντες, ἢ ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῆς πύλης, κατιοῦσι μάλιστα τοῦ Μητρῴου, οὗ μικρὸν τῶν Ἐκβατηρίων τοῦ βωμοῦ ἵστασι δὲ μεμιγμέναι ταῖς θεαῖς αἱ Ἑλληνίδες, οἷα τῶν Ἐκβατηρίων ὄντων ἔτι τοῦ δαιτεῖον ὄντα.

9 Ἐνταῦθα θύσας τῷ πατρῴῳ νόμῳ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ λαμπάδα τοῖσας καὶ ἄγωνα γυμνικὸν, καταλύσας στρατοπεδεύει μὲν τῇ Σουσιανῇ Λίδοικῃ, ἐνθα Πέρσαι, φρουραρχὸν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Σούσων Μαζάρην τὸν σταιρὸν καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Θεοδότου, προεχώρει ἐπὶ τὴν Πέρσιδα ἐπὶ θαλάσσαν δὲ κατεστρέψατο ἔθνεα ἐν Σιρίαι καὶ Φοινίκῃ καὶ Κιλικίᾳ Μαίνην.
10 καὶ τούτῳ δόντες ἀργύρου τάλαντα δὲ τριχίλια φέρειν ἐπὶ θαλάσσαν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποστείλας παρ' Ἀντίπατρον ἔπεμψε δὲ δόντας Ἀντίπατρος ἐς τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀμύντας ὁ Λεόννατος ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἀφίκετο ἣν δὲ Μακεδόνων ἄγει. Καὶ τούτων
11 τοὺς μὲν ἵππους ἐς τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἑταιρικὴν κατέταξεν Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς πεζοὺς δὲ προσέθηκε ταῖς τάξεσι ταῖς ἄλλαις κατὰ λόχους ἑκάστους ξυντάξας. Κατέστησε δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου λόχους ἑκάστους ἀντὶ ἑνὸς λοχαγοῦ ἑκάστου τοῦ πρόσθεν ὄντος λοχαγοῦ ἑκάστου τοῦ κατ' ἄρτιον προκριθέντος ἐκ τῶν σταιρῶν.

XVII Ἄρας δὲ ἐκ Σούσων καὶ διαβὰς τὸν ΣΤΥ

of the royal belongings. A good deal else was captured there all that Xerxes brought back from Greece and among this he rose statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. These Alexander sent back to the Athenians and they are now set up at Athens in the Ceramicus on the way by which one ascends the Acropolis, just opposite the Metroön, not far from the altar of the Eudanemi. Anyone who has been initiated into the mysteries of the Twain Goddesses at Lycosura is aware that the altar of Eudanemus is in the plain.

There Alexander sacrificed with the traditional ceremonies and held a torch race and an athletic contest. He left behind as satrap of the district of Susa Abulites a Persian and as garrison commandant in the citadel of Susa Mazarus one of the Companions, and as general Archelaus son of Theodorus and then he advanced towards the Persians. Seaward he sent Menes as governor of Syria Phoenicia and Cilicia. He gave him upwards of three thousand silver talents to take to the sea and to send of these as much as Antipater should require for the Lacedaemonian war. There too Amyntas son of Andromenes arrived with his force which he was bringing from Macedon. Of these Alexander detained the cavalry to join the Companion cavalry but the infantry he distributed among the various brigades, arranging them racially. He also formed two companies in each squadron of cavalry there had formerly been no cavalry companies and as captains he appointed those of the Companions distinguished for valour.

XVII. Leaving Susa and crossing the river Pasi-

Παρεστήκεσαν τεταραγμένοι δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὀξυάρτην γὰρ Ὀξυάρτου δὲ καὶ μὲν τὰ σώματα τοῦτο τε καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Περσικοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁμοίως ἐπεποίητο· τὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἑκατέρων ἐκάστοις ἐκεκόσμητο. Ὀξυάρτης Περσικὰ τε οὐχ ἧσσον ἔφερε, καὶ τοὺς τιμωμένους παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου οὐκ ἄλλως ἐκόσμει ἢ ὡς τοὺς Περσῶν ἵππους ἐν τῇ δυνάμει ἢ καθεῖρξε δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν
1 βασιλέως τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην. Καὶ τοὺς ἀντιστῆναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δοκοῦντας ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἀνεβίβασεν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἐν κρημνοῖς ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλθόντος τοῦ παρόδου εἶναι τῶν ἐπὶ Περσῶν, ἵνα καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες τὰ τεταγμένα. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἅμα λαβὼν τοὺς σωματοφύλακας τοὺς βασιλικοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν τὴν ἀντεπιτηδείαν τῇ τοιᾷδε μάχῃ ἄλλην ἢ τὴν
2 φάλαγγα ἐπορεύετο αὐτῷ τῶν Σουσίων. Καὶ διελθὼν κύκλῳ τραχεῖαν καὶ δυσπορον τὴν μᾶλλον ἐπιτήδειον τοῖς τοξόταις τῶν Ὀξυάρτου καὶ λείαν τε πολλὴν ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἑταίρων ἔπεμψε πολλοὺς κατατοξεύσαντας· οἱ δὲ ἐνέφυγον ἐς τὰ ὄρη. Αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ στενοχωρεῖσθαι τὴν φάλαγγα, ἵνα ἀναπτύσσεσθαι οἱ Ὀξυάρτου ταξάμενοι
3 ἔδοξαν λήψεσθαι τὰ τεταγμένα. Κρατήσας δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρόσθεν στενοτέρου τὰ ἄκρα καταλήψεσθαι ἔφθη φθάσας ξυλλοχήσοντας τοὺς Ὀξυάρτου ἀναχωροῦντας. Αὐτὸς δὲ πολλῷ τάχει ἐπὶ καὶ φθάσας τὸ κρημνῶδες τῶν παρόδων καὶ ξυντεταγμένους τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων οἱ τοξόται χωροῦσιν
4 ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους. Οἱ δὲ τῷ τε τάχει τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ τοῖς χωροῦσι, οἷς μάλιστα δὴ ἐνεπεφύκεσαν, πλη-

tigris. Alexander invaded the land of the [illegible] Of these some who dwelt in the plain-lands had obeyed the Persian satrap and were summoned to Alexander but the [illegible] as they are named had not vouchsafed a response to Persia at all on the occasion next to Alexander and feared that they might on the [illegible] account have [illegible] against the Persians and [illegible] what they usually received from the Persian king whenever he made a progress that way Alexander sent them away bidding them come to the pass which when they heard it made them fear that the war through into Persia was in their hands there to receive the appointed payment from himself also. Then he taking with him the [illegible] guards and [illegible] guards and some eight thousand of the rest of the army during the night marched by another than the obvious road by [illegible] granted by the Persians then passing along a rough and difficult path in one day he fell upon the [illegible] ravaged a great deal of property and took many of them being yet in their beds the rest escaped to the hills. Then he marched straight to the [illegible] where the [illegible] were but it is given him to [illegible] to order to escape the customary [illegible] But he went [illegible] even further to advance to seize the heights whither he imagined the [illegible] if barred would retreat but he himself was not at [illegible] speed and got first to the pass and held it, and with his men in due battle order [illegible] them from a commanding position to attack the [illegible] They however astonished at Alexander's swiftness, and overmastered at the very position in which they had chiefly put their trust, fled [illegible] much as

ναυτοσύνην ἔφυσαν· καὶ οὐ χειρὸς ἦλθον τοῖς
ἐν μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ Διόξιππον ἐν τῇ
φυγῇ ἀναιρεθῆναι πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον,
ἐρυσιβίην εἶναι· οἱ πλείστους δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις
ἀναφανέντας ἐμπεσεῖν τε τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κρα-
6 τερὸν καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπολέσθαι. Ταῦτα τὰ
γενόμενα παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου λαβόντες χαλκοῦς οἱ
ῥοῦν ἔδωκαν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν χαλκὸν τὸν οὗτοι
ἔχουσιν φόβον ἐπὶ ὄνῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀνοφόρῳ
Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου λέγει τὸν Δαρεῖον καὶ
ἀνθρώπους τινὰς αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου δίκαια σφίσι
τοῦ χωρὸς εἶναι. Ὁ φόβος δὲ ὁ συντυχὼν ἦν
ἵππου τε ἄτου σφόδρα καὶ ἀνεζωσμένα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς
καὶ τραχεῖα τρόμῳ χρώματα· ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἦν
Οὐ ἐς τοῦτο ἐγὼ ἀπιστήσω, ἀλλὰ γνώμη
αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ ἦσαν

XVIII Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ
τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους καὶ
τοὺς μισθοφόρους τοὺς ξένους καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τοῦ
στρατεύματος ξυντόνως ἐπίκειντο ἦσαν ξὺν
Παρμενίωνι ἐπόντες· αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἱππέας ἄγων κατὰ
3 τὴν ἀμάξιτον τὴν ἐς Περσῶν φέρουσαν. Αὐτὸς
δὲ τοὺς τε ἑταίρους τοὺς Μακεδόνων ἀπολέκτους
καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἑταιρικὴν καὶ τοὺς τροφί-
μους ἵππους καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς
τοξότας ξὺν στρατῷ τῷ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἦγεν. Ἐς
δὲ τοὺς πυλῶνας τοὺς Περσικοὺς ἔφικτο κατα-
λαμβάνων αὐτοὺς Ἀριοβαρζάνης τὸν Περσῶν
στρατηγὸν, τεῖχος μὲν οὐ τετραπεμμένους ἔχοντα,
ἵππους δὲ ἐς ἑξακοσίους. διαστειχίσαντα τὰς
πύλας καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸ τῶν τοίχων ἐστρατοπεδευ-
κότα, ὡς ἐλέγετο τῷ παρόδου Ἀλεξάνδρου.

coming to close quarters. Some of them were slain by Alexander's troops in the flight, and many also hurled the road, which was very steep. The greater number however escaped to the hills where they encountered Craterus' force and were by this destroyed. These then were the gifts they received from Alexander, and it was only with difficulty that they obtained their request from him that they might retain their own territory and pay tributes to Alexander every year. Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, however, tells us that the mother of Darius implored Alexander on their account to give them back their territory to dwell in. The tribute appointed was a hundred horses every year with five hundred transport animals and thirty thousand sheep. For the Uxians had no money nor arable land, but they were for the most part herdsmen.

XVIII. After this, Alexander sent off the baggage trains, the Thessalian cavalry, the allies, the mercenaries, and all the other heavier armed troops of his army with Parmenio, to lead them against the Persians by the main road which leads into their country. He himself took with him the Macedonian foot, the Companion cavalry, the mounted scouts, the Agrianes and the archers and marched at full speed through the hills. When he arrived at the Persian Gates he found there Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Persia,[1] with not less than forty thousand infantry and seven hundred horse, having already built a wall across the Gates and encamped there by the wall, to bar Alexander's progress.

[1] Persia here = the Province of Persis.

5 Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ αὐτοκρατοροκλινοῦντος τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸ στόμα ἐπωφέλει τὸν στρατιὰν στῆναι τῷ τάφῳ. ὡς δὲ ἄνεσις τε ἐδόκει γεγονέναι ἐφίεσθαι αὐθις καὶ τοξεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔνδον αὐτοὺς ἐπιβοήσαντος τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἀνὰ μηχανὰς βαλλομένους, τοῦτο μὲν ἀνοχωκοῦσι δὲ τὸ
6 στρατοπέδον τῶν δὲ αἰχμαλώτων φόβῳ ἀνάγκης ἄλλην οἱονεὶ περιφορὰν αὐτὸν ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ τάφου τῶν τοῦ ἄνω ἀνὰ τοιχίσκων τῶν οἴκων καὶ στέγης ἐνόντος. Κρατοῦσι μὲν αὐτῶν καταλιπόντες ἀνὰ στρατοπέδου τῶν τὸ αὐτοῦ τάφου ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν τάφων ἄλλων καὶ τῶν
7 ἑταίρων τὸν τοιοῦτον, καὶ προστάττει αὐτῷ ἀνοικοδομεῖν αὐτὸν ἀνίβησαι καὶ προσαγαγόντα ἄλλῃ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοῦ Περσικοῦ (καθάπερ δὴ καὶ γέλωτα σημαίνων τῷ αὐτῷ τῶν σκλήνων), τοῦτο δὲ προσβαλὼν τὸ τοῖχος αὐτοῦ δὲ τοιχίσκου ἐπιτοῦ. καὶ διεθεῖν ἔνδον ἀνὰ στρατοπέδου τοῦ καὶ ἀνοικοδομεῖν τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τῶν Περσικῶν τάφων καὶ τῶν τάφων τοῦ ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ τοῦ Ἀνδρομάχου καὶ τῶν στηλῶν τῶν Διὸς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τετραμμένων πρὸς ταύτῃ μᾶλλον ἐστίαν καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἐξ ἀνὰ στρατοπέδου ἐν ἀνὰ τοῦ τάφου ἐν ἀνὰ τοῦ τάφου ἐν ἀνὰ τοῦ
8 ἄνω. Ἀμύντου δὲ καὶ Φιλίππου καὶ Κοίνου τῶν ἄλλων στρατιῶν ἐν ἀνὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἄνω καὶ τοῦ στόματος ἐν ἐγγὺς στρατοπέδου τοῦ Περσικοῦ τάφου ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐξ οἴκων χαλκῶν καὶ τραχήλων καὶ τοῦτο ἄνωθεν τὸ πολὺ ἄνω. Τῶν μὲν δὴ στρατοῦ φίλιππου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν φόνων ἐνίστασθαι διαφθείρει καὶ
9 τῶν ἑκατέρων τοῦ πολλοῦ τῷ τρίτῳ δὲ ἐπὶ

For the time being Alexander encamped there, but next day he marshalled his troops and attacked the wall. But as it appeared to be difficult to attain by reason of the awkwardness of the ground, and as his troops were suffering much damage, being assailed by missiles from commanding heights and even from catapults, he for the moment fell back to his camp. His prisoners, however, undertook to lead him round by a different road, so that he should come out within the gates. But gathering from them that the road was rough and narrow, he left Craterus there in charge of the camp with his own brigade and Meleager's, a few of the archers, and about five hundred horse, bidding him, as soon as he should perceive that he himself had managed to get round and was nearing the Persian camp (of this Craterus would easily become aware by the trumpets sounding), to attack the Persian wall. He himself advanced by night, and after traversing some hundred stades, brought up the body-guard with Perdiccas' brigade, the lightest armed of the archers, the Agrianes, the royal squadron of the Companions, and over and above these one tetrarchy of cavalry, and with these made a turning movement towards the gates by the way in which the prisoners guided him. Amyntas, meanwhile, and Philotas and Coenus he had ordered to bring the rest of the army towards the plain and to bridge the river[1] which one must cross to enter Persia; but he himself traversed a difficult and rough track, and took the greater part of it at full speed. He fell upon the first Persian guard before dawn and destroyed it with this, and the greater part of the second; most of the third fled, not

[1] The Araxes.

not even these fled to Ariobarzanes' camp but ran in terror from the spot, just as they were to the [illegible] on that quite unobserved, just at dawn he assaulted the enemy's camp. At the same moment as he attacked the trench the Argive guard of mercenaries, Craterus' troops and Craterus himself assaulted the wall. So the enemy caught on all sides were so much as come to hands, but fled even as they were harassed on all sides. Alexander was pressing hard upon them here Craterus troops were [illegible] up there, so that the greater number of the Persians were forced to turn back to the mass and seek escape there. But by that time the walls themselves were in Macedonian hands. For Alexander had expected to happen just that which did happen and so had left Ptolemy there with some three thousand infantry so that the greatest part of the Persians were cut down by the Macedonians at close quarters. Even those who were attempting flight and the flight had become a panic threw themselves over the cliffs and perished; but Ariobarzanes himself with a handful of horsemen escaped to the hill.

Alexander once more at full speed led on towards the river and he found there he by the seaside made and crossed [illegible] he had lost. Thence once more at full speed he hurried on towards the Persians[1] and arrived there before the garrison had plundered the treasure. He captured also the treasure which had been at Pasargadae[2] in the treasury of [illegible] the First. As satrap of Persepolis he appointed Phrasaortes the son of Rheomithres. The Persian palace he set on fire [illegible] though Parmenio

[1] That is, to Persepolis. [2] The former capital.

[3] A [illegible] story. He does not agree with the same story Diodorus, Curtius, Plutarch.

μενίωνος συζεύξαι ξυμβουλευσαντος, τά τε ἄλλα [καὶ] ὅτι οὐ καλὸν αὐτοῦ στήματα ἤδη ἀναλλῆναι, καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἅπαντας προσέξουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνθρωποι, ὡς οὐδὲ αὐτῷ ἅπαντες κατεῖχον τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἀρχήν· ἀλλὰ
12 ἀναλθεῖν μόνον νικῶντα. Ὁ δὲ τιμωρήσασθαι ἐθέλων Πέρσας ἔφασκεν ἀπ' ἄλλων ἤδη τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀλλαξαντας τάς τε Ἀθήνας κατασκάψαι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κακὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰργάσαντο, ὑπὲρ τούτων δίκας λαβεῖν. Ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο δοκεῖ σὺν τῷ δρᾶσαι τοῦτό γε Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδὲ εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι τιμωρόν.

XIX Ταῦτα δὲ διανοξύμενον προὐχώρει ἐπὶ Μήδους· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐνενθάνετο εἶναι Δαρεῖον. Γνώμην δὲ ἐποιεῖτο Δαρεῖος οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Σούσων καὶ Βαβυλῶνος μένει Ἀλέξανδρος, αὐτοῦ προσμενεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Μήδοις· εἰ δή τι ἐνοχλοῖεν τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον· οἱ δ' ἄλλοσε ἐπ' αὐτόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους τε καὶ Ὑρκανίους, ἔστε ἐπὶ Βάκτρα τήν τε χώραν ἐθνώσων τάχιστα καὶ ἄνδρων πολλῶν Ἀλέξαν-
2 δρῳ τὴν πρόσω ὁδόν. Τὰς μὲν δὴ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν ἐπ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κατασκευὴν καὶ τοὺς ἁρμαμάξας ἐπὶ τὰς Κασπίας καλουμένας πύλας πέμπει· αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἧπεν ἐς τὰ πρωτεύοντα ξυνιόντα αὐτῷ προσμενῶν τὸν Ἐκβάτανον. Ταῦτα ἀκούων Ἀλέξανδρος προὐχώρει ἐπὶ Μήδους. Καὶ παραπεσὼν μὲν ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐμβαλὼν κατεστρέψατο καὶ σατράπην ἐπῆκεν αὐτῶν Ὀξυάρτην τὸν Ἀβουλίτου τοῦ [στρατηγοῦ] Σούσων σατράπου πολὺ

urged him to save it, arguing, among other things, that it was not seemly to destroy what was now his own property, and that the Asians would not then be induced to join him if he seemed determined not to hold fast the sovereignty of Asia, but merely to pass through it in triumph. Alexander on the contrary replied that he proposed to punish the Persians in recompense for what they had done in their invasion of Greece, for their overturning of Athens, their burning of the temples, and for all the other cruel things they had done to the Greeks, for these he said he took vengeance. Yet I do not myself think that Alexander was justified in doing this, nor can I regard it as any retribution upon the Persians of earlier days.

XI. After this converse Alexander marched towards Media, for he had learnt that Darius was there. Darius had determined, if Alexander should remain at Susa and Babylon to wait there himself also in Media in case there should be some new move of Alexander's. But should Alexander march straight against him he proposed to go forward towards the Parthyaeans and Hyrcanii, as far as Bactra, ravaging all the country and making any further progress impossible to Alexander. The women and all the belongings he had already sent him and the covered waggons he sent to what are called the Caspian gates, there he, with the force he had collected from what he had left behind in Ecbatana. Alexander, learning this, also advanced towards Media and outstripped the Parmenion invading their territory and appointed satrap over them Oxathres son of Abuzaes, he, however,

3 αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ φυτεῦσαι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον καὶ
ἐν Δαρείου ἀνεστραμμένῳ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν μείζονι καὶ
κάλλει ἐκπρεπεστέρᾳ. Σκιάδας τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἔσεσθαι
καὶ Καθισούσας συμφυεῖς καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς καὶ
τοὺς τοίχους φύλλοις καὶ τῷ κλήματι αὐτοῦ
οὐκέτι ἐπιφθόνως ἐπιτρέψειν τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς ἀνακλᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον
4 Καὶ αὐλισθῆναι ἐνθένδε τὸν στρατὸν ἐς Μ[illegible]
Ἔνδα ἔφασαν εἶναι ἀξιόμαχον ἔνδοθεν
Δαρεῖον καὶ Καθισούσας ἢ Σκιάδας αὐτῷ συμ-
μίγνυσθαι φασὶν ἀλλ' ὅτι φεύγων συνέπεσεν εἶναι
Δαρεῖον· ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ μάλιστα ἦν στρατός. Ἐς δὲ
αὐτὸν ἐκβαλόντων ἔνδον τριῶν σταδίων εἶναι,
στενὰ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐς Καθισούσας ἔχοντα τοὺς τοί-
8 χους Δαρείου βασιλεύοντος Πέρσαις καὶ οὕτω
ἀνεστραμμένου ὅτι Δαρεῖος ἐς φεύγοντας ἐκείνου εἶχε
τοὺς ἱππέας· ἔχει τὰ τε χρήματα τὰ Μ[illegible] ἔνδον καὶ
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ καὶ στρατιὰν οὐκ ἐς ὀλίγους
μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς πολλούς.

Ἐκβάλλουσι δὲ ἐς Καθισούσας Ἀλεξάνδρου τοὺς μὲν
Θετταλῶν ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυμμάχους
ἀνακτησόμενον αὐτοὺς ἐς Φρυγίαν τὴν ἐπὶ
Μαιάνδρου πόλιν αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ξυντάγμασιν καὶ
8 ἐκείνοις πᾶσι· αὐτὸν πολλὰ ἐπιόντα αὐτῶν καὶ
ἐκ τῶν Πολυκλείτου ἐπὶ μισθοφορᾷ τῇ αὐτῷ ἀναπεπεμ-
μένων ἐπιόντα καὶ ἐπιόντα ἐς ἀναστροφὴν
μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς μάχην. Ἐπιπλέει δὲ τῶν Πολυκλείτου
ἐπὶ τῆς καταγωγῆς αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Φρυγίαν
ἀνδρῶν ἄλλων ἔχοντα τὸ φύλακον αὐτῶν τῶν
τῶν Θετταλῶν τοὺς ἵππους αὐτῶν ἀνειμένους.
Ἐπιπλέει δὲ καὶ Μένης, σατράπης ἀφικόμενος
ἐκ Φρυγίας, ἀναλαβὼν ἄνδρας ἐκ τριήρους

satrap of Susa. Then he himself, learning on the road that Darius had decided to give battle to him and fight it out again—for he had had an accession of Scythians and Cadusians as allies—bade the baggage trains and their keepers and all the rest of the stores to follow, and taking the rest of the army he led them marshalled for battle. On the twelfth day he reached Media. There he learned that Darius' force was not worth fighting with and that the Cadusians and Scythians had not arrived to help him, but that Darius had resolved on flight. On this Alexander led on all the more rapidly. But when he was about three days' journey from Ecbatana there came to meet him Bistanes son of Ochus, the predecessor of Darius as king of Persia, and he reported that Darius had fled five days back, with his treasure from Media of seven thousand talents and a cavalry force of three thousand and infantry about six thousand.

Arriving at Ecbatana, Alexander sent back to the sea the Thessalian cavalry and the rest of the allies, paying each the agreed pay in full, and himself making a largess of two thousand talents, but anyone who would continue to serve him for pay on his own account he ordered to be enlisted, and a great number were so enrolled. He appointed Epocnus son of Polyeides to lead the remainder seaward, with cavalry besides to guard them, for the Thessalians had sold their horses on the spot. He instructed Menes also, so soon as they should reach the coast, to see to their being embarked on transports for

7 κομισθήσοιντο ἐς Εὔβοιαν. Παρμενίωνα δὲ προσέταξε τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐκ Περσῶν κομιζόμενα ἐς τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις καταθέσθαι καὶ Ἁρπάλῳ παραδοῦναι· Ἅρπαλον γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπέλιπε καὶ φυλακὴν τῶν χρημάτων Μακεδόνας ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας καὶ ψιλοὺς ὀλίγους· αὐτὸν δὲ Παρμενίωνα τοὺς ξένους ἀναλαβόντα καὶ τοὺς Θρᾷκας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι ἱππεῖς ἔξω τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἑταιρικῆς παρὰ τὴν χώραν τὴν Καδουσίων ἐλαύνειν ἐς

8 Ὑρκανίαν. Κλείτῳ δὲ τῷ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἴλης ἡγεμόνι ἐπέστειλεν, ἐπειδὰν ἐκ Σούσων ἐς Ἐκβάτανα ἀφίκηται, κατελέλειπτο γὰρ ἐν Σούσοις ἀρρωστῶν, ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς Μακεδόνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων τότε καταλειφθέντας ἰέναι τὴν ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἥξειν ἔμελλε.

XX. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τήν τε ἵππον τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ τοὺς προδρόμους καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἱππέας, ὧν Ἐριγύιος ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τὴν Μακεδονικὴν ἔξω τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασι ταχθέντων καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας ἤλαυνεν ὡς ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον. Καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπουδῇ γιγνομένῃ τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν πολλοὶ κάμνοντες ὑπελείποντο καὶ ἵπποι ἀπέθνῃσκον·

2 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ἦγε, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ῥάγας ἑνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. Διέχει δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ἀπὸ τῶν Κασπίων πυλῶν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν μιᾶς ἐλαύνοντι ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἦγε. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐφθάκει ἤδη παρεληλυθὼς εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν τῶν Κασπίων. Τῶν δὲ ξυμφευγόντων Δαρείῳ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπολιπόντες αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἐπὶ τὰ αὑτῶν ἕκαστοι ἀπεχώρουν, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ

Euboea. Parmenio also he ordered to convey the Persian treasure to the citadel in Ecbatana and hand it over to Harpalus, for he had left Harpalus in charge of the treasure, and with him as guard over the treasure some six thousand Macedonians, with cavalry and a few light auxiliaries. Parmenio himself he instructed to take the mercenaries and the Thracians and any other cavalry besides the territorial cavalry through the land of the Cadusians and march into Hyrcania. Cleitus also, the commander of the royal squadron, he ordered, so soon as he should reach Ecbatana from Susa—for he had been left at Susa sick—to take the Macedonians who had been left to guard the treasure and go towards the Parthyaeans, where he himself also proposed to go.

XX Alexander then taking the Companions' cavalry and the mounted scouts and the mercenary horse under Erigyius, and the Macedonian phalanx, save those detained to guard the treasure, and the archers and the Agrianes began his march against Darius, and by reason of the speed of his march many of his troops were left behind, worn out, and many horses died, but Alexander went on undeterred, and reached Rhagae in eleven days. This territory is one day's journey from the Caspian gates for anyone marching as Alexander did. Darius, however, had contrived to pass already within the Caspian gates. Of those who shared his flight, many had deserted him during the flight, and had gone away to their homes, and a good number had surren-

3 ξυνέβη σφᾶς ἐνδιδόναι. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο αὐτὰ τεῖχος αἱρησόμενον Δαρεῖον, μεῖναι αὐτοῦ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀναπαῦσαι τὸ στράτευμα. Μήδους μὲν σατράπην ἀπέδειξεν Ὀξυάρτην, Πέρσην ἄνδρα, ὃς ἐτετίμητο πρὸς Δαρείου ξυνειληφότων καὶ ἐν Σούσοις ἀρχόμενος· τοῦτο αὐτῷ ἐς πίστιν ἦν πρὸς Ἀλε-
4 ξάνδρου αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίδα ἦγε. Καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ πρὸς τὰς Κασπίους πύλας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο· τῇ δευτέρᾳ δὲ εἶσω παρῆλθε τῶν πυλῶν ἔστε ἀφικόμενος ἦν Ἑκατόμπυλον· ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτῷδε, ὅτι ὁρμὴν τὴν πρόσω χώραν ἤσαν, ἐς προσκοπὴν ἐστέλλετο Κοῖνος ξὺν ἱππεῦσί τε καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ὀλίγοις.

XXI Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀφικνεῖται παρ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαρείου στρατοπέδου Βαγίστανης, Βαβυλώνιος ἀνήρ, τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ ξὺν τούτῳ Ἀντιόχης τῶν Μαζαίου παῖδων· οὗτοι ἀπήγγειλαν ὅτι Ναβαρζάνης τε χιλίαρχος τῶν ξὺν Δαρείῳ φευγόντων ἱππέων, καὶ Βῆσσος ὁ Βακτρίων σατράπης καὶ Βαρσαέντης ὁ Ἀραχωτῶν καὶ Δραγγῶν σατράπης ξυνειλήφοτες εἶεν
2 Δαρεῖον. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι μάλιστα ἦγε σπουδῇ, τοὺς σταδίους μόνους ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους ἱππέας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς εὐρωστοτάτους τε καὶ εὐφυεστάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος, ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἄλλους Κοῖνον προσμεῖναι ἐν τῇ προσόδῳ ἐπιόντας. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ὑπολειπομένοις ἐπιστήσας Κρατερὸν προσ-
3 ταττε ἕπεσθαι[1] μὴ μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἀγόντα. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τὰ ἅπλα εἶχον μονὸν καὶ δύο

[1] ἕπεσθαι Cronert from K.

dered to Alexander. Seeing, however, that he should not now catch Darius by hot pursuit, Alexander remained there five days and rested his force; he appointed Oxodates satrap of Media, a Persian who had been arrested by Darius and imprisoned at Susa; this caused Alexander to rely upon him. Alexander then marched towards the Parthyaeans, and the first day he encamped by the Caspian gates, but on the second he passed within the gates as far as the district was inhabited. Then in order to get provisions thence, since he heard that the country beyond was desert, he sent Coenus to forage with the cavalry and a few foot-soldiers.

XXI. Meanwhile there arrived to visit him one Bagistanes from Darius' camp, a Babylonian and a noble, and with him Antibelus, one of Mazaeus' sons. They reported that Nabarzanes, commander of the cavalry which had shared Darius' flight, and Bessus satrap of Bactria and Barsaentes satrap of the Arachotians and the Drangians, had arrested Darius. On learning this Alexander pressed on faster than ever, with only the Companions, the mounted scouts, and the strongest and lightest of the infantry, carefully selected, and he did not await even Coenus and his men to return from their foraging. He posted Craterus to command those left behind and ordered him to follow, but not by forced marches. His own men had nothing but their arms and two days' rations.

ἡμερῶν στάσιν. Ἐλθὼν δὲ τήν τε νύκτα ἅλην καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν μέχρι μεσημβρίας ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀνεπαύσας τὸν στρατὸν αἴσθεται ὅτι ἅλην τὴν νύκτα. καὶ ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ ὑποφαινούσῃ παρῆν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὅθεν ἀφορμηθεὶς ἐπὶ τοὺς
4 Βακτρίους. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους οὐ κατέλαβε Δαρεῖον δὲ περὶ ἑσπέρην ἐπύθετο, αὐτὸν μὲν συνειλημμένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ Βῆσσον, Βῆσσον δὲ ὅτι Δαρεῖον εἶναι τὸ ἀρατὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνα ὀνομάζεσθαι Βήσσου πρὸς τῶν Βακτρίων ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι βαρβάρου ξυνεφύγοσαν Δαρεῖῳ. πλὴν Ἀρταβάζου καὶ τῶν Ἀρταβάζου παίδων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν μισθοφόρων· τούτους δὲ πίστους εἶναι Δαρείῳ, καὶ εἴργειν μὲν τὰ γιγνόμενα οὐ δυνατοὺς εἶναι, ἀσφαλεστάτους δὲ ἔχειν τῆς λοιφορᾶς οἱονοῦν ὡς ὅτι τὸ ὄρη ἴσως κατὰ σφᾶς, οὐ μετέχοντας τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βῆσσον τοῦ
5 ἔργου. Γνόντα δὲ ταῦτα πυθόμενον τοὺς ξυλλαβόντας Δαρεῖον, οἱ μὲν δώσοντα σφᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνθέσθαι, παραδοῦναι Δαρεῖον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ σφᾶς τι ἀγαθὸν εἰρήσεσθαι· ὃ δὲ τὸ ἅρπαλον ἐπανελήλυθότα μαθών, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας τε ξυλλέγειν ὅσους πλείστους δύναιντο καὶ διασώζειν ἐς τὸ σφέτερον τὴν ἀρχήν. Βήσσου δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ πλειστηρετά τε τὸν Δαρεῖον καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ σατραπείᾳ τὸ ἔργον ἐγίγνετο.
6 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀπὸ πρώτης δικαίως ἐφαίνετο. Καὶ ἦδη μὲν ἐξεκεκμήκεσαν οἵ τε ἄνδρες καὶ οἱ ἵπποι ὑπὸ τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ τῇ ξυνεχεῖ· ἄλλα καὶ δὴ ἦγε, καὶ διελθὼν ὅσον πολλὴν τήν τε νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἡμέραν

Travelling all night and the next day till noon, he rested his troops a short time and then again hurried on all night, and at dawn he reached the camp, whence Bagistanes had come. But he did not catch the enemy; about Dareius he learnt that he had indeed been arrested and was being carried in a closed waggon, and that Bessus had been given the sovereignty in place of Dareius and had been saluted as leader by the Bactrian cavalry and the other Persians who had fled with Dareius, save Artabazus and his sons and the Greek mercenaries. These, he learnt, remained faithful to Dareius, but being unable to prevent what had occurred had turned off the main road and were making for the hills by themselves, refusing to participate in the action of Bessus and his followers. Those who had seized Dareius had decided that if they should learn that Alexander was pursuing them they would give up Dareius to Alexander and make good terms for themselves. Should they learn that Alexander had turned back they would collect as large an army as they could and join in preserving their empire. Bessus was in command for the time being both from his relationship to Dareius and because this event took place in his satrapy.

Learning this, Alexander decided that he must pursue with the utmost vigour. Already his men and horses were growing utterly wearied beneath this continued exertion; none the less, Alexander pressed on, and accomplishing a great distance during the

[illegible]

night and the following day till noon he arrived at a village where the ten before Darius' mutilators had encountered. Hearing here that the Persians had determined to continue their course by night he enquired of the inhabitants if they knew any short cut that could take him to the king more quickly. They replied that they did, but that the road was difficult, having no water. He therefore took with him this road and seeing that his infantry would not keep up with him if he pushed on at the speed he contemplated, some five hundred horsemen and as many from the officers of the infantry and the rest of those whose strength was best maintained by horse-riding mounted the horses, carrying their own arms. Nicanor the commander of the hoplite-guard and Atizyes commander of the Agrianes he ordered to lead those who were left behind along the road by which Bessus and his party had already proceeded, these were to trace on the lightest possible order, and the rest of the infantry was to follow in military formation. Alexander then himself started off at dusk and on his troops at the quick; during the night he traversed some four hundred stades and just at dawn came upon the Persians marching at ease and without arms, so that even a few of them turned to hinder his passage but the greater part, as soon as ever they saw Alexander himself not waiting to come to close quarters took to flight. Those who turned to make a fight of it were cutting a few of their number also died. Bessus and his immediate followers for a time took Darius with them in the chained waggon but when Alexander was now right upon them Nabarzanes and Barsaentes mounted him and left him where he was themselves escaping

αὐτοὺς δὲ ἔφασαν σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις Δαρείου
δὲ ἀναβάντος ἐπὶ ἅρμα ἔφυγεν ὡς τὸν τροπαιοῦχον
τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀλέξανδρον

XXII Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ
Δαρείου τὸ ἅρμα ἐπεμβὰς διώκει ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ τοὺς
τῶν Περσῶν ἵππους ἐλαύνοντας καὶ οὐ δίκαιον
ἔτι τὸν Δαρεῖον ἐκπεπληγότα ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου
Περσῶν καὶ Τριβαλλῶν καὶ Ἀγριάνων ὑπερβάλλειν
Ἀλέξανδρον μετὰ Μαζαίου Τριβαλλῶν δὲ
Πεύκωνος καὶ τοξοτῶν ἱππέων ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐλαυνόντων
καὶ τοῦ τε Δαρείου τὸ καὶ Τριβαλλῶν

1 Τοῦτο τὸ τέλος Δαρεῖος ἐποιήσατο τῆς ἐς τὴν
Ἀθηναίων Ἀρχεστράτου μετὰ Ἑλληνικοῦ
ἀφίξεως τὸ μὲν πολλοῖς αὐτὸς τῶν ἔπειτα
ἐποίησεν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ ἅρματος ἐλαύνων
ἔφυγε σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ὀλίγοις ἐκπεπληγμένος
ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου, ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Δαρείου
τροπὴν καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔφοδον τὴν τε
Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἔτι τῶν Ἑλλήνων
οὐδὲ πέντε ἔτη ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ τοιούτου
ἐπολιτεύσατο ἔτος ἐπὶ τοῦ τοιούτου ἀνθρώπου
2 Ἔφυγε μὲν δὴ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ ἅρματος ἐν ἀνάγκῃ
ξυνεστηκυίᾳ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνάγκην ἔχοντι ἀνδρὶ
τροπὴν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοιαύτην ἐποιήσατο
τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἅρματι ἐπὶ τῷ
τοῦ ἅρματος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ἅρματι ἐπὶ τῷ
ἅρματι τοῦ ἅρματος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ἅρματι
4 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ τῷ ἅρματι τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
ἐπὶ τῷ ἅρματι ἐπὶ τῷ ἅρματι τοῦ ἅρματος
τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ἅρματι ἐπὶ τῷ ἅρματι τοῦ ἅρματος
ἐπὶ τῷ ἅρματι τοῦ ἅρματος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ἅρματι

with six hundred horsemen. Darius died of his wound soon after, and before Alexander had seen him.

XXII. Alexander sent Darius' body to Persepolis, ordering it to be buried in the royal tomb, as were the other kings before Darius. He appointed as satrap of the Parthyaeans and Hyrcanians, Amminaspes, a Parthyaean, he was one of those who, with Mazacus, had surrendered Egypt to Alexander. Tlepolemus son of Pythophanes, one of the Companions, was appointed overseer of Parthyaea and Hyrcania.

Thus died Darius, when Aristophon was archon at Athens and in the month Hecatombaeon.[1] He was a man above all weak and incapable in warfare; but in other regards he had given proof of no harsh act, or perhaps had no chance to do so, since the moment of his accession was also the moment of the declaration of war by Macedon and Greece. Even had he desired, therefore, he had no chance to play the tyrant over his subjects, being set in the midst of greater dangers than they. His life was one series of disasters, nor, from his accession, had he any respite, at once there befell the cavalry disaster of his satraps on the Granicus, and then at once Ionia and Aeolis were in the enemy's hands, with Greater and Lesser Phrygia, Lydia, and Caria save Halicarnassus, soon followed the capture of Halicarnassus, and over and above all the coast line as far as Cilicia. Next came his defeat at Issus, where he beheld his mother made captive with his wife and

[1] 330 B.C., July.

τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπείδον ἐπὶ τῷδε Φωκίων τε ἀπώλετο καὶ Λίγυπτος τάδε ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀρβήλων ἔφυγε τὸ τε πρωτεῖον διωγμῶν καὶ στρατιᾶς πλείστης πάντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ
6 γένους ἀπώλεσε· φύγας τε ἐς τοῦτον τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς πλείστους, καὶ τελευτῶν πρὸς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ δεσμὰ πρόβαλε. Βασιλεὺς τε ὁ τῆδε αὖτις καὶ ἐπεσπάσθη ξὺν ἀτιμίᾳ ἀνομίων, τέλος δὲ πρὸς τῶν πιστοτάτων ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἀπώλετο. Ζωστὴ μὲν Δαρείῳ τοιαῦτα ξυνηνέχθη· τελευτήσαντι δὲ ταφή τε ἡ βασιλικὴ καὶ τῶν παίδων ἔπαθε καὶ Βασιλεύοντος αὐτοῦ τροφὴ τε Ἀλεξανδρου[1] καὶ παίδευσις καὶ γαμβρὸς Ἀλέξανδρος. Ὅσοτε δὲ ἐτέλευτα ἐγγύθεν ἀμφὶ τὰ πανταῦθα ἴστε.

XX. 1 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τοὺς ἐναλισθέντας ἐν τῇ δύσει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβόντι ἐς Τρωικὸν ἦρε χωρον. Κεῖται δὲ ἡ Τροία χωρὸς ἐν δεξιᾷ τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον φερούσῃ καὶ τῇ μὲν ἄκρατος ἀπορίγεται βασσοῖ καὶ ὑψηλοῖ, τὸ πεδίον δὲ αὐτῆς καθήκει ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην τὴν ταύτῃ θάλασσαν. Ταύτην δὲ ἴσμεν ὅτι ταύτῃ τοῦτ' ἔξουσι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δαρεῖον διαπεφευγότας ἐς τὰ τῶν Τατταίων ὄρη ἐνίδετο καὶ αὐτοὺς
2 ἅμα τοῖς Τατταίοις χειρωσόμενος. Τριχῇ δὲ διελὼν τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν ἐπιτομωτάτην καὶ χαλεπωτάτην ἤρεσατο, τὰ πλείστου καὶ ἅμα τὰ κουφότατα τῆς δυνάμεως ἄγων. Κρατερὸν δὲ τὸν τε αὐτοῦ τάξαι ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου καὶ τῶν ταξιτῶν ἴστον αὐτὸν καὶ ὀλίγους τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπὶ Τατταίους ἐπεπέμπετο· Ἐρίγυιον δὲ τοὺς τε

[1] καὶ Ἀλεξ. Bekker.

children, then Phoenicia and all Egypt was lost, and then again followed his own flight at Arbela, a shameful flight among the foremost, and his loss of the greatest host of all the Persian Empire and now a fugitive from his own kingdom, and a vagabond, at last he was betrayed by his own guards to the worst of fates, both king and prisoner, hurried off with every mark of shame and finally perishing by conspiracy of those who were most bound in duty to him. These were the tragedies of Darius' life. His tomb in death was the royal tomb, his children nurtured and educated by Alexander as if he were still on the throne and Alexander for his daughter's bridegroom. At his death he had reached about fifty years of age.

XXIII. Alexander taking over those of his force who had been left behind in the pursuit, advanced into Hyrcania. This country lies on the left of the road leading to Bactria, on the one hand it is bounded by high and wooded mountains, but the plain land in it stretches to the Great Sea which lies that way.[1] Alexander marched in that direction because he found out that the mercenaries who had been with Darius had escaped this way to the Tapurian hills; besides, he intended also to subdue the Tapurians themselves. He divided his army into three parts, and himself led on by the shortest and hardest road with the greater part, and the lightest armed also, of his force, but Craterus with his own brigade and that of Amyntas, some of the archers, and a few horsemen, he sent against the Tapurians. Erigyius, on the

[1] The Caspian.

ξύλων και του λοιπου ὑποζυγίου ἀπολαβόντα τὰ λουφόρα τε και μακρότερα τροχοῦ σκέλεσιν, τοῖς ἁμάξαις και τὰ σανιδώματα και τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα ὄντα.

3 Τοξεύειν δὲ τὰ πρῶτα ἔφη και καταστρατοπεδεύοντας αὐτοῦ, ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς τε στρατιώτας και τὴν Μακεδονικὴν φάλαγγα τοὺς συσσιτίους και τοὺς τοξότας ἵστα οἷς ἦν χαλκοῦν εἶδος και ὄντωσιν. φύλακας τῶν σκευῶν καταλείπειν ἵνα σφίσιν τι αὐτῶν ἔφασκεν ὡς μὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐνδεῖσθαι τὰ δὲ ἔχοντας τοὺς Βαρβάρους. Λύτον δὲ μετὰ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐκέλευεν τὰ στίνα ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ καταστρατοπεδεύοντας πρὸς τοταμῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ. Και ἐντεῦθεν ἔστιν αὐτοῦ Νεβαρζάνης τε ὁ Δαρείου χιλιάρχης και Φραταφέρνης ὁ Τριταύρας τε και Παρθυαίων σατράπης και ἄλλοι τῶν ἀμφὶ Δαρείου Περσῶν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι πάντες παρέσονται ἀφὰς αὐτοῦ.

4 Τριταύρας δὲ ὁ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν πρὸς τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ὑπολοίφους κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀσφαλῶς διεβίβασεν, τοὺς δὲ Ἀσπασίους ἀναβοφύλακας ἐπιόντας τοῖς ὄρεσιν τοῦ Ζαρβιανοῦ και μέσους ἔχοντας τῇ παρόδῳ ἀπέκλεισεν.

5 Ἦρας δὲ ἐντεῦθεν πρῶτον ἐς ἀφ' Ἕρμους εἰς Ζαδρακάρτα, πόλιν Τριταύρου. Και ἐν τούτῳ οἱ περὶ Κάλιστον συνέμιξαν αὐτῷ, τοὺς μὲν ξένους τοὺς Δαρείου ἅπαντας ἐπιτηδείους, τὸν χωλὸν δὲ ἄνευ διαστρεμμάτων ἥκειν τοῦ μὲν βίᾳ, τοῦ δὲ ἑκόντος τοῦ καταπεπτωκότος πρόσθεν. Ἐντεῦθεν και Ἐκγυνοὺς ἦρεν ξὺν τοῖς σκευοφόροις
7 και ταῖς ἁμάξαις. Ὅλεγον δὲ ὕστερον Ἀρταβάζου

other hand he ordered to take the mercenaries and the rest of the cavalry and bring them along the high-road, which was longer, conveying the waggons, the baggage trains, and the rest of the host.

After he had crossed the first hills and had encamped there, Alexander took the body-guard and the lightest armed of the Macedonian phalanx and some of the archers, and marched along a rough and difficult road, leaving behind troops to guard the roads where he thought there was danger, so that the enemy who held the heights might not at any such spot attack those who were coming after. He himself with the archers crossed the pass and encamped in the plain by a small river. While he was there, Nabarzanes, Darius' cavalry general, and Phrataphernes the satrap of Hyrcania and Parthyaea, and other most highly placed Persian officers of Darius, came and gave themselves up. After waiting four days in the camp, he picked up those who had been left behind on the march, most of whom crossed with safety; the native bowmen however had attacked the Agrianes, who were the rearguard, but getting the worst of a long range skirmish withdrew.

Moving thence Alexander advanced towards Hyrcania to Zadracarta, a city of the Hyrcanians. Meanwhile Craterus and his troops had joined him, they had not fallen in with Darius' mercenaries, but they had, partly by force and partly by the surrender of the natives, taken over all such territory as they had traversed. There also Erigyius arrived with the baggage trains and the waggons. Soon after, Arta-

ἀφικνεῖτο παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ Κλεοφῶν καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης καὶ Ἀρσάμης καὶ ξὺν τούτοις παρὰ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς ξὺν Δαρείῳ τρεφθέντας καὶ Λυκοφρόνιστος ὁ Ἰασονίωνος στρατηγὸς Λυκοφρόνιστος μὲν δὴ τὴν σατραπείαν ἀπέλιπεν Ἀρτοβάζου δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἅμα οἱ ἐς τιμὴν ἦγε· τά τε ἄλλα δὴ τοὺς πρώτους Περσῶν ἔστιν οὓς καὶ τῶν Δαρείου πιστοτάτους ὄντας. Τοῖς τρεφθεῖσι δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεδόσθαι σφίσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς ξένιον ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐμοὶ μὲν καὶ δι' ἐκείνους πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐδόκιμον εἶδος τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῶν στρατευμάτων θαυμάζειν τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους παρὰ τὰ δεινότατα· τὰ Ἑλλήνων δὲ ἔθνεα δεῖσθαι ξυμμάχων καὶ παραδίδοσθαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνιστρέπτους Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χρήσθαι ὅ τι καὶ βούλοιτο ἢ κωλύεσθαι ὅπῃ δύναιτο. Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἔφασαν σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυμπαρεῖναι τὰ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀσφαλῶς διακομισθείησαν παρ' αὐτὸν εἶναι δὲ ἱππέων μὲν χιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους Κλεῖτον Ἀλεξάνδρου παρεῖναι· Ἀνδρόμαχον τὸν Ἀγάρρου καὶ Λυσανίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ.

XX. Αὐτὸς δὲ πρώτην ἐς γῆν Μαρδῶν, ἀναλαβὼν τούς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν Λητῶν καὶ Λυκίων τάξιν καὶ τῶν σταδίων ἐπτὼν τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστὰς ὁμοῦ γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἱππακοντισταὶ τάξιν ἦσαν ἐπεύθυνα δὲ τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς χώρας τῶν Μαρδῶν πολλῶν μὲν ἀντιστάντων

[1] τε after Μήνιννι added by Dübner.

basus came to join Alexander, and of his sons Cophen and Arobarsanes and Arsames, and with them envoys from the mercenaries who had been with Darius and Autophradates, satrap of the Tapurians. To Autophradates Alexander handed over the satrapy, but Artabazus and his sons he kept by him in honourable positions, especially as they were among the highest of the Persians and because of their loyalty towards Darius. To the envoys of the Greeks, however, who begged him to grant them terms for the whole mercenary force, he replied that he would make no compact with them whatever, those who fought with foreigners against Greeks were doing grievous wrong, and flying in the face of Greek traditions. But he bade them come in a body and surrender themselves, leaving it to him, Alexander, to do what he would with them, or, if not, take what steps they could for their own safety. They replied that they placed themselves and the rest in Alexander's hands, and bade him send an officer to lead them, that they might have safe conduct to his camp. They were reckoned to be about one thousand five hundred. Alexander sent Andronicus, son of Agerrhus, and Artabazus to them.

XXIV. Then he himself proceeded against the Mardians, taking the bodyguards, the archers, the Agrianes, the brigades of Coenus and Amyntas, half of the Companion cavalry, and the mounted javelin-men, for by this time he had a brigade of these. Passing through the greater part of the Mardian country, he slew many of them attempting to escape,

αὐτῶν φανησόμενον· οὐ δὲ τιμὰς δὲ ἄλλας τε μεγάλας καὶ
πολλὰς δὲ ζώντας ἔλαβεν. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸν ἴσον χρόνον ἐμβεβλήκασι τὸν τῶν αὐτῶν
ἔπη πολεμεῖν καὶ τὸ δυσχείμερον καὶ ὅτι τοξότης
ὁ Μαρδὸς καὶ μαχίμων ἐπὶ τῇ στέγῃ ἔφασαν.
Ὅλεσαν δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐμβεβλήκασι δὲ τοῦτο
δυνάμεσι ἄλλαις τε καὶ τοξικωτάταις· δὴ δὲ
τὸ πρόσω τοῦτο μᾶλλον τὸ αἰφνίδιον ἠλπίσατο
2 Πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ δὴ τὸ ὄρος ἀνεφέροντο ἐς δὴ
ὑπερφυᾶ τε καὶ ἀπότομα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ
ἔστιν ὡς πρὸς ταῦτα τὰ ὄρη ἔβαινε. Ἀλεξάνδρου
Ἔνοι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προσέτι, ὡς δὴ τοξικῶν
προσβολὰς αἴρει τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν χωμα-
τα Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτοὺς μὲν αἴρειν, σφᾶς δὲ
ἀναβιβᾶν αὐτοὺς Αὐτοφραδάτην, ἄνδρα καὶ
Τατούρου.
4 Αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπεμβάλλουσι δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκάστοτε
ὁρμηθέντες ἐς τοὺς Μαρδοὺς τὸν γὰρ κατάλοιπον τοῦτο
Ἕλληνας τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς
Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ τοὺς προσβολεῖς τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέως Δαρείου
ἀφικομένους, Κλεάνδριδάν τε καὶ Παυσανίαν
καὶ Μενίσκον καὶ Ὀνόμαρχον καὶ Ἀθηναῖον Δημο-
τέλη. Τούτους μὲν δὴ ξυλλαβεῖν ἐν φυλακῇ
εἶχε· Τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας δὲ οὐ φασι, διὰ Σπαρτιάτας
εἶναι τοὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς Ἕλληνας μετεῖχον γὰρ
Περσῶν τε τεταγμένοι καὶ ἀποστάντες πολὺ ἐδο-
κουν παρὰ τοὺς βασιλέως σφᾶς προσβεβηκέναι
6 Ἀφικνεῖτο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἔκαστος πρὸς
τὴν εὐνοίαν τε καὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν τὴν πρὸς
Μακεδόνας ἐποιοῦντο παρὰ Περσῶν ἀποδρᾶ-
φοντες καὶ Καλχηδόνιος Ἡρακλείδης τοῦ πρεσ-
βύτερος ἀφῖκτο τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ξυστρατεύεσθαι

χρὴ

and some turning to her a great number he captured alive. He marched for a long time amidst their country owing to the difficulties of transit and because the Mardians were hard to pass and by nature brave warriors. So they never ceased [illegible] Alexander thought best to [illegible] and to make hasty marches for most of the journey and then were the more easily overpowered. But many of them took refuge in the [illegible] which were very safe and [illegible] in their country for a sure that Alexander would not reach [illegible] But when he did approach [illegible] they straightway surrendered themselves and their country and Alexander dismissed them and appointed as their satrap Antigenidas, who made [illegible] of the Lycaonians.

He himself returned to the camp wherein he had set out for the Mardian territory and received the necessary troops who had arrived and the Lacedaemonians who were on an embassy to the court of King Darius, namely Leonnatus, Pantaleon, Menander and Dracon, and of the Athenians, Iphicrates. These he arrested and kept under arrest. The envoys from Sparta he dismissed since the Spartans were not part of the [illegible] of nations but being [illegible] Persia did not appear to have done anything [illegible] to their own interests. [illegible] remaining envoys he dismissed to Greece as before the peace and he [illegible] of the alliance with Macedon had been arranged with the Persian fleet. He dismissed also those envoys, envoy of the Cardacenians the rest he commanded

ai ἐπὶ μισθῷ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐτοὺς Ἀλέξανδρον ἕκαστα ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκόλαζε γοῦν οὐ φαύλως τινὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

XXV. Ταῦτα δὲ διατεμψάμενος ἦγεν ἐπὶ Σαλμυδησσὸν, τὴν μητρόπολιν τῆς Τριταίας, ἵνα καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τῶν Τριταίων ἦν. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα διατρίψας ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς οἷς νόμος καὶ ἄγωνα γυμνικὸν ποιήσας ἐν τῇ Παρθενίῃ ἦγεν ἐκεῖθεν διὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀρριανῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ Σουσίων, πόλιν τὴν Ἀρριανὸν ἴσα καὶ Σαυσιδρίζουσι ἦσαν ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Ἀρριανῇ κατοικοῦντα τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τῶν σατραπῶν αὐτόθι ξυμπεσὼν αὐτῷ Ἀπολλώνιος τῶν σωμάτων ἦρχε τῶν ἱππασίμων ἐν τοξοφόροις· οἱ ἦσαν φύλακες καθίσταντο τῶν τόπων τῶν ἐν ἀδείᾳ εἶναι τοὺς Ἀρριανοὺς πρὸς τῇ στρατιᾷ κατὰ τὴν παρόδον.

2 Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' αὐτὸν Περσῶν τινες οἱ ἀγγέλλοντες Βήσσον τὸν τὸ τιάραν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν Περσικὴν στολὴν φορέσαντα Ἀρταξέρξου τε καλεῖσθαι ἀπὸ Βήσσου καὶ βασιλέα φάσκειν εἶναι τῆς Ἀσίας· ἔχειν τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν Περσῶν τε τοὺς ἐκ Βάκτρων διαφυγόντας καὶ αὐτῶν Βακτρίων πολλοὺς· προσδοκᾶσθαι δὲ ἤδη αὐτὸν καὶ Σκύθας ξυμμαχήσοντας.

3 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀμφὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἤδη ἔχων τὴν πάσαν δύναμιν ἦγε μὲν ἐπὶ Βήσσον ἤδη καὶ Φιλώτας ὁ Μενάνδρου παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο ἐκ Μηδίας, ἔχων τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους ἱππέας, οὓς ἦγεν αὐτὸς, καὶ Θετταλῶν τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ξυμπάντας Ἀχαιῶν. Νυκτὸς δὲ ὁ μὲν

to serve under him at the same rate of pay, and he set Arabs as over them, who had not long since made it evident that he had made it a matter of some importance to preserve his own.

XVI. When he had put all this in order he marched towards *Ecbatana*, the greatest city of Hyrcania, where was now the Persian power. There he spent fifteen days and sacrificed to the gods as custom directed, and held gymnastic contests; and there he marshalled troops for the Parthyaeans and thereon to the borders of Aria and Susia, a city of Aryia where also Satibarzanes met him, the satrap of the Arians. Alexander confirmed him in his satrapy and sent with him a large part of the Companion cavalry and of the mercenary cavalry and of the Thessalian horse, in that he might have guards to meet at various points and that the Arians might not suffer harm from the army on the passage.

Alexander received Persians next, Alexander reporting that Bessus was wearing his royal robe[1] and calling himself as Persian king[2] and named himself Artaxerxes instead of Bessus and gave out that he was king of Asia. He had about him then and those Persians who had fled to Bactria and a great number of the Dahi and Sacarauli, and he expected that Scythians also would join him.

Alexander with his whole force now recovered advanced to Hecatompylos, where Phrataphernes met him from Media with the mercenary cavalry and by himself and the Thessalian cavalry who had remained behind, and those under Andromachus

[1] The regular Persian robe was worn with the open sleeves by all [illegible]

[2] A purple robe with white stripes

Παρμενίωνα ὁ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἄρχων τότε
6 τῶν ἵππων ἦν τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τῶν ἐπὶ
Βασσοῦ ἐλαυνόντων Σατιβαρζάνην ὁ Ἀμύντου
στρατηγὸς Ἀρείων καὶ οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ
τοῦ ἦσαν οἱ τὸν ἀστράγαλον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ
Ἄμμωνος καὶ ξυνήγαγον οἱ Λεπτίνεως τοῦτον ἐπὶ
τὸ θηρίον τὸ τοῦ Ἀμύντου ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐς
ἔφοδον ἐτάλλετο τρωθεὶς ὑπασπιστὴς Ἀλεξάνδρου
ἵππου. ἐπὶ ἦν τῷ ἵππῳ παρὰ Βασσοῦ
καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐπεβοήθησαν καὶ οἱ τοῦ
6 Μακεδόνες. Ταῦτα οἱ ξυγγραφεῖς αὐτῶν τῶν μὲν
ἐπὶ Βασσοῦ ἔργα καὶ ἄλλα ἐπαινέσαντες δὲ τοὺς
τε στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ
τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς Ἀκοντιστὰς
τε καὶ Κοίλου τάξεις τοῦ τε ἄλλου ἔπαινον αὐτῶν
ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τῷ αὐτῶν βασιλεῖ τιμὰς,
ἀνωτάτω ἔργα εἰ καὶ Σατιβαρζάνην τε καὶ τοὺς
Ἀρείου καὶ Βασσοῦ τε ἵππους ἐπιόντας ἐπιόντων
δὲ ἐξαίφνης τοῦ Ἀρείωνος ἵππου.

7 Σατιβαρζάνης μὲν οὖν οὐ ἔτλη ἀντίον ἐλθεῖν
Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἵππον ἐπιστήσαντος
ἐπὶ ἄλλους στρατιώτας τοῦ Ἀμύντου τρεψάμενος τοὺς
τοῦ Ἀμύντου στρατιώτας ἐπεκράτησε δὲ τῶν
ἐπὶ ἀριστερὰ ἱππέων τριακοσίων. Ἀλεξάνδρου
Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἵππου ξυνεστηκυῖαν ἀπροσμάχητον
ἐπιόντος καὶ τῷ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τοῦ
ἐκεῖσε τοῦτον δὲ ἄλλῳ καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ τοὺς
βαρβάρους ἐκπλήσσοντος τοῦ μὲν ἀνδριάντος τοῦ
δὲ ἐκπλαγέντος ἐπιόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτοῦ ξὺν
6 Ἀρείωνι ἵππου Περσικῆς. Λεπτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς
ἄλλοις Κρατεροῦ ἱππαρχήσαντος ἐπὶ αὐτὸν
ἦλθε καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ζαριάσπαν χωρεῖ ἔργα καὶ
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Nicanor however son of Parmenio commander of the hetairoi had already died of sickness. But as Alexander advanced towards Bactra news was brought that Satibarzanes satrap of Areia, had massacred Anaxippus and the mounted javelin-men with him and was arming the Areians and making them a body in the city Artacoana where was he master of the Areians and that he had deserted on learning that Alexander had advanced forward to gather with his troops in Bessus and with him to attack the Macedonians whose opportunity should offer. When this was reported to Alexander he did not continue his march to Bactra but he took the Companion cavalry the mounted javelin-men the archers the Agrianes and Amyntas and Coenus brigades and leaving behind there the rest of the army and Craterus in charge he advanced swiftly against Satibarzanes and he Areians and traversing in two days the distance of six hundred stades arrived at Artacoana.

Satibarzanes for his part learning of Alexander's proximity and astonished at the swiftness of his approach fled with a few Areian horsemen for in his flight he had been deserted by the majority of his soldiers since they too learnt that Alexander was pressing on towards him. So many as Alexander feared to have had a hand in the revolt and had at the time deserted their colours with swift pursuits he slew some here some there others he received. As satrap of Areia he appointed Arsames a Persian. He then with the force left under Craterus which had now joined him, marched towards the territory of the

ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια τῶν Ταξιλῶν ἔθνος. Παρασάντης δὲ ἐς τοὺς ταξιλοὺς τοὺς γυμνοὺς ἐλθὼν τοὺς ἐφ' ὑποζυγίων ἐλαύνοντας τὸν φιλίππου στρατιώτου Ἀλέξανδρον μαθὼν δὲ ἰόντα τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ὄφιν Ἥφαιστον δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀναστολὰς καὶ ἀνοίξαντας πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς δὲ Δαρείου ἀδελφὰς ἄγοντας.

XXVI Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὸν Φίλωτα ἀνεβίβασεν τοῦ Παρμενίωνος ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ λόγου Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ὅτι τροφεῖα μισθὸν[1] ἔδη οἱ καὶ τροφεῖα δὲ λέγοντες, οὐ μισθὸν φασὶν τὸν οἰκέτην τὸν τῶν φίλων τῶν φίλων εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸν Παρμενίωνα τε τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Φίλωτα τιμᾶν καὶ δι' αὐτὸν Φίλωτα
1 φιλεῖν. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου λόγῳ μὲν ἐπεχθῆναι δὲ Μακεδόνας Φίλωτα καὶ κατηγορῆσαι μὲν αὐτοῦ μηχανὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνακαινισθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν Φίλωτα καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀρχαῖς τὸν ἔργον παρελθόντας ἐξετάσαι Φίλωτα τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτοῦ ἅλλα τε ἐλέγχους τοὺς ἐφάντας καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι αὐτὸς Φίλωτας τοιαῦτα μὲν ἀντιλέγειν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου πεπραγμένα ἐπαινῆ ἐξετάσαντα δὲ κατακαῦσαι ταῦτα πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου εἶναι δὲ ὅτι τὸν ἔλεγχον
2 ἐπιφανῆ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου φόνου. Καὶ Φίλωτας μὲν κατακαυθῆναι πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ ἅμα ἅλλα μηχανῆσαι αὐτὸν τὸν στρατόπεδον· τὸν Παρμενίωνα δὲ ἐπιλέξαι Πολυδάμαντα ἕνα τῶν ἑταίρων ἱππέα φίλτατον αὐτῷ Ἀλε-

[1] Rom. τροφεῖα μισθὸν δὲ Polak perhaps better τροφεῖα μὲν δὲ

Zarangaeans, and arrived where their palace was. But Barsaentes who then held the country, being one of those who had joined in attacking Darius on the flight, learning that Alexander was approaching fled to the Indians on this side of the river Indus, but the Indians seized him and sent him to Alexander, who put him to death for his treachery to Darius.

XXVI. It was there that Alexander learnt also of the conspiracy of Philotas son of Parmenio. Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus say that some report of it had been already made to him in Egypt, but he did not think it credible, both because of their long friendship with him and because of the honour he had shown to Parmenio, Philotas father, and the trust he had reposed in Philotas himself Ptolemaeus son of Lagus states as follows: Philotas was summoned before the Macedonians, and Alexander vigorously accused him, Philotas making his defence, and then those who had reported the plot came forward and convicted Philotas and his fellows with many manifest proofs, and chiefly this, that while Philotas himself agreed that he had heard of some sort of plot being laid against Alexander, he was proved guilty of having uttered no hint of it to Alexander, though he visited Alexander's tent twice daily Philotas for his part was shot down by javelins by the Macedonians, and with him the other conspirators, but as for Parmenio, Polydamas, one of the Companions, was sent

ξυνέβαινε τοῦτο τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τοὺς ἀπὸ Μακεδ. Κλεάνδρου τε καὶ Σύτταλκου καὶ Μενίδαν αὐτοὺς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ ἄρχειν Παρμενίωνος τεταγμένους ἦσαν. Καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀνεφάνησαν Παρμενίωνος, τύχῃ μὲν ὅτι οὐ πιστὸν εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλωτα ἐπιβουλεύοντος μὲν ξυνειδότα δὲ Παρμενίωνι τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ βουλεύματος, τύχῃ δὲ ὅτι, εἰ καὶ μὴ ξυνειδείη, σφαλερὸν ἦν ἀπιστεῖν Παρμενίωνι, τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ ἀγομένου, τὸ τελευταῖον δὲ ἀξιοῦσι παρὰ τὰ αὐτῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα στρατεύεσθαι, μὴ ὅτι τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων, ἀφ' ὧν πολλῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος αὐτὰ προσταξάν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξὺν χάριτι ἐξήγετο.

XXVII. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Ἀνδρομένους αὐτοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου ἀνηψῆσθαι δὲ ἀρετὴν, καὶ Πολέμωνα καὶ Ἄτταλον καὶ Δάμωνα τοὺς Ἀμύντου ἀδελφοὺς, οὓς ξυνειδότας καὶ αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρου πατὰ πιστὸν τε καὶ ἐταῖρον τοῦ Φίλωτα. Καὶ εἶναι πιστοτέρα ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ὅτι Πολέμωνα, ὃν τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν Ἀμύντου ξυλλαμβάνοντες Φίλωτα, ἔφυγεν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους Ἄλλα Ἀμύντας γε ξὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὑπομείνας τὸν λόγον καὶ ἀπολογησάμενος ἐς Μακεδόνας πάντων ἀφίκετο τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τιθεὶς ἐπ' ἀνοφελίαν, ἐν τῇ ἔκλεπτε ἀξιώσας ἀφεθῆναι ἐς τάξιν παρὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ στρατεύεσθαι αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἐς Μακεδόνας ξυνεγκρούσας. Ὁ δὲ ἀνεθεὶς αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν Πολέμωνα ἐστασίαζεν καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ

to him with a letter from Alexander to the generals in Media. Cleander and Sitalces and Menidas, for they had been posted to the force which Parmenion commanded. By these Parmenion was put to death, possibly because Alexander would not believe that when Philotas was conspiring Parmenio had no share in his own wicked counsels, or possibly because even supposing he had no such share in Parmenion was already a grave danger if he survived when his own son had been put to death, being an object of hatred both to Alexander himself and throughout the whole army, and that not only the Macedonian army but the mercenaries also who had been lately recruited both in his military term of duty and also in extraordinary circumstances by Alexander's express order and with Alexander's expenditure.

XXVII. It is said that Amyntas son of Andromenes was brought to trial about the same time with Parmenion and Attalus, but Amyntas, brother of Antiochus on a charge of having raised war in the mountains against Alexander, though then faithful to Philotas and their friendship with him, and the conspiracy was more rife among the mountaineers here as Parmenion was of Amyntas to whom as much as Philotas was attached, deserted to the enemy. But Amyntas on any rate was brought to trial and made a vigorous defence before the Macedonians and was acquitted of the charge, and the moment he was acquitted he asked leave to go to his brother and bring him back again. Alexander then the Macedonians permitted. He departed therefore, that very day and brought back Parmenion

μᾶλλον ἢ τροφὸν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ εἶναι Ἀμύντου.
Ἀλλὰ ἄλλην τε ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι τοιαύτην παλαιοτέραν
τοῦ λόγου τε τοῦ νῦν λεγομένου ἐστὶν οὐδὲν
ἧσσον αὐτῷ πιστὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀναφορᾶς ὅτι
μὴ σαφῆ τοσοῦτον γε ἀκριβῶσαι.

4 Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ κατασχόντος τὴν τῶν Ἀμμωνίων
ἀρχὴν ἐς δύο. Ἡφαιστίωνα τὸν τοῦ Ἀμύντου
καὶ Κλεῖτον τὸν Δρωπίδου καὶ ἄγχι ἄλλων τῶν
τοῦ τότε ἐπιφανῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο φίλων· ἦν δὲ τοῦτο
ἔθνος τοσοῦτον ὥστε ἄλλοι τε καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων
τοῦ τότε ἐπιφανῶν οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγοις καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχὰς ἐποιήσαντο, ἀφικομένου
δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πρὸς Ἄμμωνος καλουμένου
ἔφασαν οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι
Κύρῳ τῷ Καμβύσου ξυνεκπολεμοῖτο τὰ ἐς
5 Σκύθας ἴοιεν. Καὶ τούτοις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐδόκει
τὰ ἐς Κῦρον πεπρᾶξθαι οὐκ ἐπιεικῶς· μόνος
καὶ οὗτος στρατεύσασθαι ἐπὶ κακῷ τοῦ
ἄλλου τοῦ τότε βαρβάρου νομίσαντος,
ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἄκρου ἴσως καὶ τοῦ κρατίστου τῶν
Ἑλλήνων μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐλευθερῶσαι τὸ αἰσχρὸν
καὶ χρῆσαι τὴν ὁρμὴν ἔστω αὐτῷ ἀφορμὴν
ἐς πολλῷ δὴ οὗτος ὕστερον προσθῆναι
Ἑστιαίᾳ θύσαι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι Δημητρίου μὲν
ἔτι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐπικλῆσαι στεφανῶσαι μετὰχειρὸς
φίλων τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ
φίλου δὲ ἔστι Δημητρίου ἀνεῖδε Πτολεμαῖον
τὸν Λάγου.

XXVIII Ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθέντα τοῦτον ἐπὶ
τοῖς Βακτρίοις τε καὶ Βήσσου ἔρχεσθαι τε καὶ
Ἰαξάρτους δὲ τε ποιεῖν παρασκευάσασθαι

[1] φίλου Franckenstein, φίλων A.

and thus Amyntas seemed more clear of guilt than before. Soon after however when bestowing some image he received an arrow wound of which he died so that he got rid from his acquittal was that he died with a good name unscribed

Alexander now appointed two officers over the Cavalry one Hephaestion son of Amyntor and Clitus son of Dropides and dividing the companions brigade in two parts since he did not wish any single man, even of his friends to command so large a body of cavalry especially as it was the best of the horse mounted force in respect of valour and valour he arrived among the people called formerly Amazonians but afterwards our Benefactors because they assisted Cyrus son of Cambyses in his Scythian expedition Alexander showed regard for this people both for the services their forefathers had done to Cyrus and from his own observation that they were not governed like the other tribesmen of these parts but also claimed to practise justice like the best of Greeks he therefore set them go free and gave them as much as they asked for themselves of the neighbouring country, and yet they only asked for a modest portion There he sacrificed to Apollo and also arrested Demetrius one of the body guards suspecting that he had a hand in Philotas conspiracy and in his place he appointed as body guard Ptolemaeus son of Lagus.

XXVIII After setting all this in order Alexander proceeded towards Bactria and against Bessus, reducing on the way the Drangianae and Gedrosians,[1]

[1] Both used in the north eastern corner of the Persian Empire, towards the Indus.

Παρεστρατο δε και των Αραχωτων και
καταστησαι επιστησαι εν αυτοις Μενανδ-
ρον. Ηνηλθε δε και των Ινδων των προσχωρων
Αραχωταις Ευμαιστα δε ταυτα τα εθνη δια
χιονος τε πολλης και ξυν οπλοις των επιτ-
δειων και των στρατιωτων γαλεωτομια ετηλθε.
2 Μαθων δε τουτ Αριους αιθις αφισταται Σατι-
βαρζανης δε της χωρας αυτων επιβαινοντος συν
στρατιαι δυοχιλιαδι, ουτι παρα Βησσου δηλαδη,
αποστελλει παρ αυτους Αρταβαζον τε των
Περσων και Ερμηνεα και Καρανεα των εταιρων
προστατην δε και Φραταφερνην, του των Πορ-
θυαιων σατραπου ξυνεπιβαλειν αυτοις δε τουτ
3 Αριους. Και γιγνεται μαχη τοις αμφι Ερμη-
νεα και Καρανεα προς Σατιβαρζανην εαρτερα,
ενθα προσθει οι Βαρβαροι αποκλινει προς Σατι-
βαρζανην ξυμπεσοντα. Ερμηνης προς Ερμηνεα
πληγεντα δορατι δε το προσωπον αποβαλειν.
Τουτ δη ιδοντες οι Βαρβαροι τροπαιουνται
φευγουσι.
4 Εν ταυτω δε Αλεξανδρος προς τον Καυκασον
το ορος ηγεν ιων και πολλα θηρια και ανομαστα
Αλεξανδρειαν και θυσας επιταδε τοις θεοις
δους τεμος αυτω υπερβολο το ορος του Καυ-
κασου, καταστησαι μεν τα χωρα επιταξας Πευκε-
στην Αλεξανδρου του δε σταιρων Νικανορα του
Σατυρου επιτασσων ξυν στρατιη απολιπων
5 Το δε ορος ο Καυκασος υψηλον μεν δοκει
ειναι περ τι αλλο της Ασιης, ως λεγει Αριστο-
βουλος, φυλον δε το πολυ αυτου το γε ταυτη.
Μαλιστα γαρ δοκει παρατεταται ο Καυκασος,
ουτε και των Ταυρων το ορος, ες δη την Κιλικιαν

and also the Arachotians, appointing Menon satrap over them. He reached also the Indians who were nearest to the Arachotians. All these various tribes he invaded through deep snow, with lack of provisions, and with much distress of his men. But learning that the Arcians had again revolted, since Satibarzanes had invaded their country with two thousand horse, whom he received from Bessus, he sent to them Artabazus the Persian and two Companions, Erigyius and Caranus; he ordered Phrataphernes also, the satrap of Parthyaea, to help them in their attack on the Arcians. A severe battle took place between the troops of Erigyius and Caranus against Satibarzanes, indeed, the Persians did not give way till Satibarzanes in single combat with Erigyius was struck in the face with a spear and killed. Then the tribesmen turned and fled headlong.

Meanwhile Alexander led his army to Mount Caucasus,[1] and founded there a city which he called Alexandreia. There he sacrificed to the gods to whom he usually sacrificed, and then crossed Mount Caucasus, appointing as satrap of the district Proexes, a Persian, and Nicloxenes son of Satyrus, one of the Companions, overseer, and left him there with a force.

Mount Caucasus is, according to Aristobulus, as high as any in Asia; most of it is bare, at least on this side. For Caucasus is a long mountain range, so that they say that even Mount Taurus, which is

[1] The Indian Caucasus, or "Hindu-Koosh."

τε καὶ Παραδείσια στρατόπεδα ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ ἄλλα τῶν μεγάλων ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου διαστήματα ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη στρατοπε-
6 κεύασθαι ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τὰ ἐπίπεδα. Ἀλλὰ δὲ μὴ τούτῳ τῷ Καυκάσῳ μόνον ἄλλα ὄρη μὴ τοιαῦτα τοῦτο ὑπερβαίνειν καὶ οἰκεῖον τὸν λόγον Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι στρατεύσασθαι πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ πρόβατα πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλην ἀποσκευὴν ὅτι καὶ χαμαὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τὰ πρόβατα καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς πρόβατον οἰκεῖον αἰσθάνεται, καὶ θεὶς ἐν αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ τῆς
7 ἄνδρα ἀποσκευὴν καὶ τὴν μίζιν ἀναφέρεται καὶ τούτῳ εἰκότως. Ἐπὶ τοῦτο δὲ Κύρου ἐς μακρότατα ἀπολειπόντος τὰ πρόβατα τὸν χρόνον ὧν αὐτοῦ τὰ οἰκεῖα φοιτᾶν καὶ ἐν δὲ καὶ τεθραμμένα τὸν χρόνον τοῦ μηδὲ ἐν πολλοῖσιν αὖθις τραφῆναι, ὅτι τοῦτο ἐξ ἐκείνου τὰ οἰκεῖα
8 Βύρσαν δὲ εἶχον ἀφ' αὐτῶν Πέρσαι τὴν τοῦ μεταξύ ἐστιν τῶν Δαρείου σκηνῶν καὶ αὐτοὺς Βακτρίους δὲ ἐντοσιχίτωνας καὶ Δᾶας τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς Ταπούροις τοξότας ἐπιστοῦντας, ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκρα τὴν Καυκάσου, ὃν ἐρυμνὰ τὰ τῆς χώρας τῆς τὸ μέρη αὐτῶν τὰ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀπορία τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἄνερ-
9 ξαν. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τὸν μὲν ἐλαύνοντα πρόσω Ἀλλ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἡλαύνοντα ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐκ τὰ χαλεπὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐκ τὰ χώρια τοῦ πολλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῖς τῶν ἀπορωτάτων, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἄλλως. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ ὃν τοῦτο ἔδη ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, διαβὰς τὸν Ἴξον ποταμὸν τὰ μὲν πλοῖα ἐφ' ὧν διεβίβασεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Ναυτάκα τὴν Σογδιανὴν
10 χώραν ἀπέχοντα. Ἐκποδὼν δὲ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ ἀμφὶ

the boundary of Cilicia and Pamphylia is really a part of Mount Taurus as well as other great mountains which have been distinguished from Mount Taurus by various nomenclatures according to their geographical positions. In this Mount Taurus however there grows nothing save terebinth and storax trees according to Aristobulus. But even so it was inhabited by a large number of people and many thousand heads grazed there since the fields as the saying is and the pastures were of the best. So far away then have to it and notice off its flowers and also dig up and eat the root. For this reason in a year they drive their flocks as far as possible from the places where this plant grows, some even burn off the place so that the flocks even if they approach cannot get at it, since the plant is very vendible to the Cyrenaeans.

But Bessus with such of the Persians about him as had joined in the arrest of Darius some seven thousand of the Barbarians themselves and the Dahae who dwell on the south of the river Tanais ravaged the country lying under Mount Taurus hoping by this devastation of the country lying between himself and Alexander and he went on purpose to keep Alexander from proceeding further. But Alexander came on none the less with difficulty indeed, through thick snow and owing to want of necessaries but still he came on. But Bessus as soon as he was told that Alexander was now not far off crossed the river Oxus and burned the boats on which he had crossed but himself moved off towards Nautaca of the country of Sogdiana. There went with him the troops of

Σωτειράτην καὶ Ὀξυάρτην, ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σογδιανῆς ἕπεσθαι καὶ Δάαι οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταναΐδος. Οἱ δὲ τῶν Βακτρίων ἵππεις ὡς φεύγειν ἐγνωκότα ἔμαθον Βῆσσον, ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἀνὰ τὰ σφῶν ἕκαστος ἀπελαύνησαν.

XXIX. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐκ Δραπσάκων ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀναπαυσάς τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς Ἄορνόν τε ἦγε καὶ Βάκτρα, αἱ δὴ μεγίσται εἰσὶ πόλεις ἐν τῇ Βακτρίων χώρᾳ. Καὶ ταύτας τε ἐξ εφόδου ἑλὼν καὶ φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῆς Ἄορνου ἀπολιπὼν καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ Ἀρχέλαον τῶν Ἀνδρομάχου τῶν ἑταίρων τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Βακτρίους, οὐ χαλεπῶς προσχωρήσαντας, ἐπιτάξας σατράπην Ἀρταβάζου τοῦ Πέρσου.

1 Λύτος δὲ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὦξον ποταμόν· ὁ δὲ Ὦξος ῥεῖ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Καυκάσου ἔστι δὲ ποταμῶν μέγιστος τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἔστιν ᾧ δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ οἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπῆλθον, πλὴν τοῦ Ἰνδῶν ποταμοῦ· οὗτος δὲ Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν μέγιστος εἶναι λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ὦξος ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν τὴν καθ' 2 Ὑρκανίαν. Διαβάλλειν δὲ ἐπιχειροῦντι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν πάντῃ ἄπορον εφαίνετο· τό μὲν γὰρ εὖρος ἦν οὐ πολὺ ἔλασσον σταδίων βαθὺς οὐ πρὸς λόγον τοῦ εὖρους ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἔτι βαθύτερος καὶ ψαμμώδης, καὶ ῥεῦμα οὐκ ἴσον, ὡς τὰ καταπηγνύμενα πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ῥοῦ ἀστρεφέσθαι δὲ τὴν γῆν οὐ χαλεπῶς, οἷα δὴ οὐ 4 βαθέως κατὰ τῆς ψάμμου ἱδρυμένα. Ἄλλως δὲ καὶ ἄνορμα ἦν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἅτε καὶ τριῶν πολλῶν εφαίνετο, εἰ μεμαθήκει μείων ἐκ τῶν γεφυρωμάτων τοῦ πόρου. Ἐπιστήσας οὖν τὸν

Spitamenes and Oxyartes and with them the horsemen from Sogdiana and Dahae from the Tanais. But the Bactrian cavalry when they learnt that Bessus had determined on flight went off, each party their own way to their homes.

XX. 1 Alexander now arrived at Drapsaca and after he had rested his army and taken on to Aornus and Bactra, the greatest cities of Bactria. These he took at his first attempt and left a garrison in the citadel of Aornus and in charge of it Archelaus son of Sisines, one of the Companions. Over the rest of the Bactrians who remained he set as satrap Artabazus the Persian.

He then marched towards the river Oxus. The Oxus flows from Mount Caucasus and is the greatest of those Asian rivers which Alexander and his army reached, except the rivers of India: they are the greatest of all rivers. The Oxus flows, however, into the Great Sea[1] which is in Hyrcania. When Alexander attempted to cross the river it appeared impossible to pass in any direction. For its breadth was about six stades and its depth unfathomable; great for its breadth with sandy bed and a swift current so that pack-beasts into the bed were easily twisted out of their ground by the stream and, getting a firm hold on the sand, kept from thence there was want of timber in the district and it was clear that there would be much loss if they went to fetch from a distance enough for the bridging of the stream. He therefore constructed the boats which

[1] The Caspian.

διέφθειρας ὑφ' ἧς ἐκήνουν οἱ στρατιῶται, φορυτοῦ ἐμπλῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡς ξηροτάτου καὶ καταβῆσαι τε καὶ ξυρᾶψαι ἀκριβῶς τοῦ μὴ ἐνδύεσθαι ἐς αὐτὰς τοῦ ὕδατος. Ἐμπλησθείσας δὲ καὶ ξυραφείσας ἱκανὰς ἐγίνοντο διαβιβάσαι τὸν στρατὸν ἐς πέντε ἡμέρας.

6 Πρὶν δὲ διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμόν, τῶν τε Μακεδόνων ἐπέλεξε τοὺς προσθυτάτους καὶ ἤδη ἀπόλεμους καὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν τοὺς ἱππέας καταμείναντας, ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπέστειλεν. Ἐκπέμπει δὲ καὶ Στασάνορα, ἕνα τῶν ἑταίρων, ἐς Ἀράσους, προστάξας Ἀραμμῆ μὲν τὸν σατράπην τῶν Ἀρείων ξυλλαβεῖν, ὅτι ἐθελοκακεῖν αὐτῷ Ἀραμμῆς ἔδοξεν, αὐτὸν δὲ σατράπην εἶναι ἀντ' ἐκείνου Ἀρείων.

4 Περάσας δὲ τὸν Ὦξον ποταμὸν ἦγε κατὰ σπουδὴν ἵνα Βῆσσον εἶναι ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἐπυνθάνετο. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀφικνοῦνται παρὰ Σπιταμένους καὶ Δαταφέρνου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγγέλλοντες ὅτι Σπιταμένης καὶ Δαταφέρνης, οἱ πεμφθέντες αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀλίγῃ στρατιᾷ καὶ ἡγεμόνων τῇ στρατιᾷ, ξυλλήψονται Βῆσσον καὶ παραδώσουσιν· Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔφασαν καὶ νῦν ἀδεσμῷ φυλακῇ φιλάσσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν Βῆσσον.

7 Ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀναπαύειν ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν σχολαιτέρου ἢ πρόσθεν· Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν Λαγοῦ ἀποστέλλει τῶν τε ἑταίρων ἱππαρχίας τρεῖς ἄγοντα καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστὰς ξυνάπτοντας, πεζῶν δὲ τήν τε Φιλώτα τάξιν καὶ τῶν ἱππαστιστῶν χιλιαρχίαν μίαν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας πάντας καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσειας, σπουδῇ ἐλαύνειν κελεύσας ὡς Σπιτα-

the troops used for tent covers and ordered them to be filled with the driest possible chaff, and then to be tied down and stitched neatly together so as to be watertight. When they were filled and stitched together they were efficient enough to take the army across in five days.

Before crossing the river Alexander selected from the Macedonians the oldest men who were no longer fit for service and the Thessalian volunteers who had remained behind and sent them on their way home. He sent also Stasanor, one of the Companions, to Areia, bidding him arrest Arsames satrap of the Areians because Arsames appeared to have ill-will towards him, and he bade Stasanor take over the satrapy of Areia in Arsames' place.

Then after crossing the river Oxus he marched rapidly to where he had learned Bessus and his force to be. Meantime there met him messengers from Spitamenes and Dataphernes telling him that they two, if quite a small force were sent them, and a man to command it, would seize Bessus and hand him over to Alexander, in fact they had Bessus already under open arrest. On hearing this, Alexander for his own part rested his army and led it on more leisurely than before. But he sent Ptolemaeus son of Lagus with three regiments of the Companions' cavalry and all the mounted javelin-men, from the infantry, the brigade of Philotas and a regiment of the bodyguard, all the Agrianes, and half the archers, bidding him lead them rapidly to Spita-

μένον τὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους. Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ
Λάγου καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ὁ τοῦ Ἰόλλου ἐν ἀμφοτέροις
ἐστάθησαν ἴσα ἀξιούμενοι ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ
ἐν τῇ τοῦ πολέμου ἐπιστασίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν
Σατραπῶν ἐπόμενοι.

XXX Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἦν τὸ
βάθρον τῶν Σατραπῶν καὶ Δημοσθένους ἡ γνώμη
ἐστὶν ἀκοῦσαι τῆς παρόδου τοῦ Ἕλληνος. Τοῦτο
μὲν δὴ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐφαίνετο ἄκαιρον εἶναι
πρὸς ἄνδρα τοιοῦτον στρατεύεσθαι· ἐκεῖνος
γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐκπολεμώσας
1 ἐφύλαττεν. Οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι τῶν Σατραπῶν
μετασχηματισάμενοι ἦσαν τὸν βίον, καταδυόμενοι
ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα τοῦ Ἕλληνος. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ
ἐφοβεῖτο τὸ ἀκόλαστον τῶν τοῦ ἄνδρος τρόπων· ἦν
γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ τοῦ βίου παρὰ τὰ Περσῶν καὶ τὰ
αὐτοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματα τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ παροῦσιν,
ἀνάβασις ἦν ἀπὸ τοιούτων παρόντων Ἕλληνος
ἐπὶ Πέρσας. Οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον τοῦτο ἦν Πτολεμαῖος δὲ
2 τῶν ἐναντίων. Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἐπιλεξάμενος Ἕλληνος
λόγους ἐποιεῖτο τοιούτους· Ἀλέξανδρον
ἔφασκεν ἐγὼ ἐπὶ ἄνδρα Ἀλέξανδρον ἥκειν
Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον γνώμην ἐν ἅπασι δοκοῦντα
εἶναι ἄριστον καὶ στρατηγικώτατον ἐν δεῖσθαι
τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ τὰ ἔργα παρακελευσάμενον
ἑαυτῷ. Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος οὕτως ἐποίησεν.

3 Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἕλληνος ἐστρατεύσατο
τὸ δεύτερον ἀπὸ ἔτους τοῦ βασιλεύειν τοῦ αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Λακεδαιμονίους
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεβάλετο καὶ ἔπεμψε στρατιάν,
ἐπειτα δὲ ἐπαύσατο. Καὶ ὁ Ἕλληνος οὐ μόνον οἱ τότε
ἐφάνη πρᾶος ἔσχε, ἀλλὰ ἔτι καὶ τοῦ ὕστερον ἐπὶ
χρό

menes and Dataphernes. Ptolemaeus went as he was ordered and traversing ten days' marches in the space of four days he arrived at the camp where on the former day the Persians with Satibarzanes had encamped.

7 When Ptolemaeus learnt that Satibarzanes and Dataphernes had not quite made up their mind about the surrender of Bessus, he therefore left the infantry behind bidding them follow in ordinary marching order and he himself rode off with the cavalry and arrived at a village where Bessus and a few soldiers were. For Satibarzanes and his men had already withdrawn thence, their consciences not permitting them to be themselves the betrayers of Bessus. But Ptolemaeus surrounding the village in a moment round the village it had some sort of wall thrown round it and going to the wall made a proclamation to the Persians in the village that they would be allowed to depart unmolested. They trusted up Bessus and they received Ptolemaeus and his troops into the village and Ptolemaeus seized Bessus and retired. Then he sent a messenger ahead and asked Alexander in what way he should bring Bessus into his presence. Alexander bade him bring Bessus bound naked and wearing a wooden yoke and then ordered him stationing him on the right of the road by which he and his army were about to pass. And so Ptolemaeus did.

But Alexander on seeing Bessus stopped his car and asked him why he had first arrested Darius who had been his king, his relative, and his benefactor, then led him about in chains and then murdered him? Bessus replied that he had done this not by any private decision of his own but in union with all

Δαρείου εἶναι, ὃς πεντήκοντα σφίσιν ἐπρεσβεύσατο
6 παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σὺν τοιούτῳ μαντεύματι ἐπῆρτο καὶ ἐπιλογίσασθαι τὸν σημεῖα ταῦτα δοῦναι ἐδόκει τῷ Βύσσῃ τὸ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐπιτήδειον. Βύσσαι μὲν δὴ αὗται πόλεις ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνων στρατεύματος ἐάλωσαν. Νύσσαν δὲ Βάκχου κτίσμα ἐστὶν Ἀραιοτόκιοι δὲ τοῦτο ἀμφὶ Διονύσῳ τε καὶ Διοσκόροις Πελοπίδαις ἀνατιθέασι. Βύσσαν καὶ παραδόντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γυμνὸν τὸν κλοιὸν δήσαντες.

7 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ διοικήσασθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῷ στρατεύματι ἔοικεν ἐνταῦθα· ἵππον γὰρ αὐτῷ ἵππου δὲ τῇ ὑποδοχῇ τοῦ Καυκάσου καὶ τῇ ἄνω τοῦ Ἴλου τε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἴλου πομπῇ ἐξελαύνει ἐπὶ τὴν Μαλλοιτῶν ἔρημον· τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ Σκυθικὸν τῆς Σογδιανῶν χώρας. Ῥοδὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ταναΐν ποταμὸν ἤρατο. Τὸν δὲ Ταναΐδα τοῦτον, ὃν δὴ καὶ Ἰαξάρτην ἄλλοι ὀνόματι ἴσμεν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων βαρβάρων καλούσθαι λέγει Ἀραιοτόκιοι· οἱ ποταμοὶ μὲν δὴ τὸν Καυκάσου ἄρκτον καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκπίπτει δὲ καὶ οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς ἐς τὴν Τρωϊκὴν
8 θάλασσαν. Ἄλλοι δὲ οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ Ταναΐς· ὑπὲρ ὃν λέγει Ἡρόδοτος ὁ λογογράφος ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν ἔτι ποταμοὶ τῶν Σκυθικῶν Ταναΐς καὶ ῥοὰς μὲν δὴ λέγουσι μεγάλας ἀπεχούσας ἀλλήλων δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐς λίμνην τὴν καλουμένην Μαιῶτιν καὶ τὸν Ταναΐν τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν ὅρον τοῦτον τῆς Ἀσίας
9 καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης· ἀλλὰ δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ ἐκ βορρᾶ τοῦ ἐς λίμνην τὴν Μαιῶτιν καὶ οὗτος ὁ τοῦτον ἐξιὼν ποταμὸς ὁ Ταναΐς οὗτος διορίζει τήν τε Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, καθότερ

the attendants of Darius at that time that they might themselves win safe-conduct from Alexander. But Alexander at this bade them arraign him and the herald to proclaim during the arraigning these same reproaches he had directed to Bessus in his enquiry. Bessus then after that torture was sent to Bactra to be put to death. This is Ptolemaeus' account of Bessus. Aristobulus however, affirms that it was the followers of Spitamenes and Dataphernes who led Bessus naked and bound wearing a wooden collar, and so handed him over to Alexander.

But Alexander, when he had brought his cavalry to full strength with the horses in the vicinity for a good many horses had fallen from exhaustion during the crossing of Mount Caucasus and on the marches both to and from the Orxartes led his troops towards Maracanda the royal city of that part of Sogdiana. Thence he advanced to the river Tanais. The sources of the Tanais too which Alexandrians name by the natives another name the Jaxartes rise on Mount Caucasus and this river also flows out into the Hyrcanian Sea.[1] The Tanais of which Herodotus the historian tells us that it is the largest of the Scythian rivers, rises and flows out of a great lake and runs into a greater lake called Maeotis will be a different Tanais. Some authorities regard this Tanais as the boundary between Asia and Europe. They imagine that from this corner of the Euxine Sea upwards the Lake Maeotis and this river Tanais which runs into the lake do actually part Asia and Europe just as the

[1] Arrian, with Strabo, is here in error.

ἡ κατὰ Γάδειρά τε καὶ τοὺς ἀντιπέραν Γαδείρων Λίβυας τοὺς Νομάδας θάλασσα τὴν Λιβύην αὖ καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην διείργει, οἷς γε δὴ ἡ Λιβύη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς ἄλλης τῷ Νείλῳ ποταμῷ διακέκριται.

Ἐνταῦθα ἀποσκεδασθέντες τινὲς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς προνομὴν κατακόπτονται πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων· οἱ δὲ δράσαντες τὸ ἔργον ἀπέφυγον ἐς ὄρος τραχύτατον καὶ πάντῃ ἀπότομον· ἦσαν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐς τρισμυρίους. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς κουφοτάτους τῆς στρατιᾶς
11 ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν. Ἔνθα δὴ προσβολαὶ πολλαὶ ἐγίγνοντο τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐς τὸ ὄρος· καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀπεκρούοντο βαλλόμενοι ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλοὶ τραύμασιν ἐγένοντο καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὴν κνήμην τοξεύεται διαμπὰξ καὶ τῆς περόνης τι ἀποθραύεται αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ τοξεύματος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἔλαβέ τε τὸ χωρίον καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ κατεκόπησαν πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν ῥίψαντες σφᾶς ἀπέθανον, ὥστε ἐκ τρισμυρίων οὐ πλείους ἀποσωθῆναι ὀκτακισχιλίων.

sea near Gadeira and the nomad Libyans opposite Gadeira [1] parts Libya and Europe; imagining also that Libya is parted from the rest of Asia by the river Nile.

It was here [2] that some of the Macedonians who had scattered for foraging were cut down by the natives. Those who did this deed took refuge in a very rugged and completely precipitous mountain, being in number about thirty thousand. Alexander took his lightest troops and led them to attack the fugitives. Then the Macedonians attempted several assaults upon the mountain, and at first they were driven back by the volleys from the natives, and a great many were wounded; notably Alexander himself was shot right through the leg with an arrow, and a part of the small bone of the leg was broken. But even so he captured the position, and of the tribesmen some were cut down there and then by the Macedonians, but many perished by throwing themselves down the rocks, so that from thirty thousand not more than eight thousand saved themselves.

[1] The Straits of Gibraltar.
[2] On the Jaxartes.

BOOK IV

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ

1 Οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τε Σκυθῶν τῶν Ἀβίων καλουμένων οἵπερ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ δικαιότατοι ἄνδρες εἶναι δοκοῦσι καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ ποιήσει ἐντιμότατοι ἀκούουσι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ οὗτοι αὐτόνομοι, οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δικαιότατοι, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς Σκυθῶν οἱ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέγιστον 2 ἔθνος ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ ἐνοικοῦσι. Καὶ τούτους ξυνέπεμψαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν ἑταίρων πρεσβευταὶ μὲν κατὰ πρόσχημα φίλων ξυνθησομένων, ἐς δὲ τοὺς τῆς χώρας τὰ κατασκεψόμενοι τὰ μάλιστα ἔφερε φύσεως τε τῆς χώρας τῆς Σκυθικῆς καὶ πλήθους αὐτῶν καὶ νομίμων καὶ στόλου ὁπόσα ἔχοντες στέλλονται ἐς τὰς μάχας.

3 Αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ταναΐδα ποταμὸν στείχει πολὺ οὖσαν, καὶ ταύτην ἑαυτοῦ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι. Ὃ τε γὰρ χῶρος ἐπιτήδειος αὐτῷ φαίνεσθαι ἐπὶ πόλιν τε μεγάλην καὶ ἐν καλῷ οἰκισθησομένην τῆς ἐπὶ Σκύθας, εἴποτε ξυμβαίνοι, ὁλκάσιν καὶ τῇ προφάσει τῇ χώρας πρὸς τοὺς κατοίκους τῶν πόλεων τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοὺς 4 ἑκατέρων βαρβάρους. Ἔτυχον δὲ ἐν καὶ μεγάλῃ γενομένῃ ἡ πόλις πλήθει τε τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ξυνοικιζομένων καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῇ λαμπρότητι. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ προσχωροῦσι τῷ ποταμῷ βάρβαροι τούς τε τὰ φρούρια ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔχοντας στρατιώτας τῶν Μακεδόνων ξυλλα-

BOOK IV

1. Not many days after, envoys came to Alexander from the Abian Scythians, as they are called, of whom Homer spoke highly in his epic, calling them "justest of men", they dwell in Asia, independent, chiefly through their poverty and their sense of justice. Envoys came too from the European Scythians, who are the greatest nation dwelling in Europe. With these Alexander sent some of the Companions, giving out that they were, by way of an embassy, to conclude a friendly agreement with them, but the real idea of the mission was rather to spy out the nature of the Scythians' territory, their numbers, their customs, and the arms they use on their warlike expeditions.

He himself was minded to found a city on the Tanais, and to call it after his own name. For the site seemed to him suitable for considerable development of the city, he also thought that it would be built in an excellent position for his invasion of Scythia, should that ever take place, and for an outpost of the country against the raids of the tribesmen dwelling on the other side of the river. He felt also that such a city would become great both from the number of settlers and the splendour of its name. Meanwhile the tribesmen near the river seized the Macedonian troops who garrisoned their cities and slew them, and

βουν αποστειλαι και τον σιτον δε διδοναι
1 τοις μαλλον ωχλουσιν. Ξυνεπελαβοντο δε αυτου
της αποστασεως και τοι Σαρισσαιοι οι πολλοι,
ανδρειοτατοι ειναι των βαρβαρων δοκουντες
και τον Φιλιππον δεινοι ουκ ολιγα αυτον
ξυναγωνισασθαι ειτε δη και ενθυμουμενοι
αυτοι και λογον διδοντες τη αποστασει δικαιον ως
δη δια βιαιων ουκ ειωθοτες δουλευειν. Αλεξανδρος δε ξυν-
ειδως τουτο υπαρχον τη γνωμη εκπεμπει τον
Σαρισσαιον, τον μεγιστον αυτοις και εν αγαθω
ειναι τον βαρβαρον νομιζομενον.

II Ταυτα δε αγγελθεντα Αλεξανδρω, παραγενε-
σθαι τους τοξοτας εκει τεχνη αλισκεσθαι τους αν-
δρας ουκετι λογω ξυνεπιθεμενους· αυτος μεν ουν
τον τοιουτον αυτου στρατον ουκ αποδειλιαν τοσου
πρηγματος ηξιουν δε ιεναι οι τον τοξοτην τον
βαρβαρον. Κλειτος δε εκπεμπεται προς τον αδελφι-
2 δουν Κλειτον· ην γαρ μεγιστη τουτω και εν
αυτοις τοις βαρβαροις ξυνεπιτηδευσις δια τον πα-
τερα. Παραγενομενος δε αυτος στρατοπεδευεται
πλησιον του τειχους και τοξευει τε δη συχνα
αυτων ανδρας και χαρακα τον πλησιαιτατω και τας
πυλιδας αυτου ξυλλαβων ενεπρησε· και τους
εν τοις πυργοις δεινως Κλειτος τους ανωτερω τοξευ-
μενους ως τα πολλα τοξευει· ουδεν γαρ τους
3 ενδον τοξευειν δυνατον. Αυτος δε δη τον
Ιαξαρτην ουκ αφιστατο και αχρι δε εφοδου σταδιων
τριακοσιαιν του τειχους· ενθεν τε και ες χειρας
ιεναι, τροπαιον τε στησαι τοξευμασι των ολι-
γιστων ου δε αφανιουντας αυτον και το τροπαιον
τε και ακοντιστους αφιει τη αφοδω των πολεμι-

then began to strengthen the cities more than before, for their security. These joined with them in this revolt the mass of the people of Sogdiana, stirred up to do so by the party which had arrested Bessus, so that these drew into their revolt some of the Bactrians too, it may be that the Bactrians were terrified of Alexander, or it may be that their seducers gave as a reason for their revolt that Alexander had instructed the chief men of that country to come to a joint conference at Zariaspa the capital, and that this conference boded no good.

11 When this was reported to Alexander, he ordered the infantry, section by section, to make so many ladders as were appointed to each section; and then he advanced to the first city you meet with on leaving the camp, called Gaza, for the tribesmen were said to have taken refuge in seven cities. Then he sent Craterus to that called Cyropolis, it was the greatest of them all, and the greatest number of refugees had collected there. Craterus was ordered to encamp near the city and to dig a ditch and to build a stockade round it, then to fix together such siege engines as he required, so that the defenders of this city might have their minds fully occupied with Craterus and his troops and so be unable to help those in the other cities. When Alexander himself, meanwhile, arrived at Gaza, on his first approach he at once ordered his men to attack the wall which was made of earth and of no great height, and to place their ladders against it on all sides, while his slingers and archers and javelin-men, at the moment of the

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ἐσηκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ βελῆ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν ἠφίετο, ὥστε ὀξέως μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βελῶν ἐγυμνώθη τὸ τεῖχος τῶν προμαχομένων, ταχεῖα δὲ ἡ προσθέσις τῶν κλιμάκων καὶ ἡ ἀναβάσις τῶν
4 Μακεδόνων ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐγίγνετο. Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄνδρας πάντας ἀπέκτειναν, οὕτως ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου προστεταγμένου· γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην λείαν διήρπασαν. Ἔνθεν δὲ εὐθὺς ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν δευτέραν ἀπ' ἐκείνης πόλιν φεισομένην καὶ ταύτην τῷ αὐτῷ τε τρόπῳ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ λαμβάνει καὶ τοὺς ἁλόντας τὰ αὐτὰ ἔπραξεν. Ὁ δὲ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν τρίτην πόλιν, καὶ ταύτην τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ εἷλεν.

5 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς πεζοῖς ἀμφὶ ταῦτα εἶχε, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐκπέμπει ἐς τὰς δύο τὰς πλησίον πόλεις, προστάξας παραφυλάττειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἔνδον, μήποτε τὴν ἅλωσιν αἰσθόμενοι τῶν πλησίον πόλεων καὶ ἅμα τὴν αὐτοῦ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ὄφοδον, οἱ δὲ ἐς φυγὴν τραπέντες ἄποροι αὐτῷ διωκεῖν γένωνται. Καὶ ξυνέβη τε οὕτως ὅπως εἴκασε, καὶ ἐν δέοντι
6 ἐγένετο αὐτῷ ἡ πομπὴ τῶν ἱππέων. Οἱ γὰρ τὰς δύο τὰς οὔπω ἁλωκυίας πόλεις ἔχοντες τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς κάπνον τε εἶδον ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸ αὐτῶν πόλεως ἐμπεπραμένης καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ διαφυγόντες αὐτάγγελοι τῆς ἁλώσεως ἐγένοντο, ὡς τάχους ἕκαστοι εἶχον ἀθρόοι ἐκ τῶν πόλεων φεύγοντες ἐμπίπτουσιν ἐς τὸ στίφος τῶν ἱππέων ξυντεταγμένον καὶ κατέκοψαν οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν.

infantry attack showered volleys upon the first line of defence on the walls and missiles were hurled from the catapults, so that the wall was soon cleared of defenders by the great shower of missiles and thus the setting up of the ladders and the ascent of the Macedonians to the wall were rapidly accomplished. They put to the sword all the men according to Alexander's orders, they carried off the women and children, and the general plunder. Thence Alexander led on at once to the second city which lay next to this one. It too he captured in the same fashion and on the same day and treated his captives likewise. He advanced then to the third city, and this he took next day at the first assault.

While he himself was thus busied with his infantry, he despatched the cavalry to the two next cities, bidding them watch the inhabitants carefully lest learning of the capture of the neighbouring cities, and also of his own impending approach they might take to flight, and pursuit might be impracticable. It fell out just as he anticipated, and the despatch of the cavalry came none too soon. For those tribesmen who held the two not untaken cities, seeing the smoke rising from the city next in front of them, when it was fired, and when a few who escaped its catastrophe gave first hand information of the capture, attempted as fast as they could to escape from these cities in a mass, but ran straight into the close cordon of cavalry, and the greater number of them were cut down.

III Οὕτω δὴ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τοῖσδε τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐχρήσαντο ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐξεδιδάσκοντο μᾶλλον ἐς τὸ μαχιμώτατον αὐτοῖς τὸ Μακεδονικὸν. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ τείχισματος τὸ ἐν ὑψηλοτάτῳ τοῦ ἄστεος ἄλλως μὲν ἦν ἀπόκρημνον καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ λίθου ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ πλίνθου καὶ μαχιμώτατον τοῦτο· ἐπεβεβήκεσαν δὲ τούτῳ στασιῶται οἱ μὴ μεμετοχότες ῥᾴδια δὲ ἔδοξεν εἶναι τοῖς Μακεδόσι τοῦτο τὸ τείχισμα. Ἀλλὰ μηχανὰς γὰρ πολιορκητικὰς τῷ τείχει Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦτο μὲν κατασκευάσαντος τὸ τεῖχος καὶ κατὰ τὸ δεῖν παραπεπτωκὸς δι' οὗ τὰς 1 προσβολὰς ποιοῖντο. Λίθους τε οἱ κατιόντες τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ πετραίου, ἢ διὰ τῆς πόλεως χειμάρρους ἐκ διαιρέτης, ἔφασαν ἐς τὸν τότε ἰδεῖν τοὺς ἐκ ξυνηθείας τοῦ τείχους· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπαρκέσειν τοῖσδε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐκλείπειν δὲ τὴν πόλιν, ἀναλαβόντας τὰ σωματοφύλακα καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας τετρακισμυρίους τοὺς ξυνάπαντας ὅσοι τοῦ μισθοῦ καὶ τοῖς τούτῳ προσκεχωρηκόσι καθότι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔθνη ἐπόμενα τὰ πρῶτα 2 καταλέξαντα δὲ τὸν πόλιν ἀπορρήξαι δὲ ἐκπόδων τοῦ πόλεως αἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις ἀσφαλεστάτην· ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐχώρουν λίθοις τοῦ πόλεως ἐκβαλόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνω. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἀμφὶ στρατιώτας καὶ τοξότας προσβολὰς αὐτοῦ ποιουμένου καὶ πολλοὺς λίθῳ αὐτοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου βαλόντος τὸ τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν ὦμον καὶ Κρατερὸν τοξεύματι καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους τῶν στρατιωτῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃν 4 ἐξώκειλε τὸ τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς βαρβάρους. Καὶ ἐς τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τὰ τείχη προσβεβλημένα ἤρκουν

III And then after capturing the five cities in two days and receiving the surrender [illegible] marched against the greatest of [illegible] This was manned with a larger host than the rest since it was held [illegible] and as the greatest number and the most stalwart of the inhabitants of the [illegible] had taken refuge [illegible] for the Macedonians [illegible] Now [illegible] brought up engines [illegible] and [illegible] but when he perceived that the [illegible] of the river which being a stream [illegible] runs through the [illegible] at the time and did not reach up to the wall but were enough to permit a passage to soldiers by wading [illegible] he [illegible] and the shield-bearing guards [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] women were [illegible] engines and those [illegible] [illegible] through the [illegible] at first with a few men and penetrated into the city, their bearing upon the [illegible] the greater part were [illegible] and the rest [illegible] [illegible] Now [illegible] that there was already in the enemy's hands [illegible] the one turned upon Alexander and he [illegible] and they made a [illegible] and Alexander himself was struck [illegible] with a stone upon his head and [illegible] with arrows was wounded by an arrow and many others of the officers also. Yet even the men there received the worst share of the misfortunes. Meanwhile those who had ascended the

ἤδη τὸ τεῖχος τῶν προμαχομένων αἱροῦσιν. Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πρώτῃ καταλήψει τῆς πόλεως ὀλίγοι τῶν πολιτῶν μάλιστα ἐς ἑκατὸν ἀπέθανον· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἦσαν γὰρ οὐ πλείους ἢ μύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι μαχίμους οἱ ξυνελήλυθότες) καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. Καὶ τούτοις περιστρατοπεδεύσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἡμέραν μίαν ἐφύλαττεν· οἱ δὲ ἐνδιψῆ ὕδατος ἐχειρώσαντο σφᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

5 Τὴν δὲ ἑβδόμην πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἕλαβε, Πτολεμαῖος μὲν λέγει ὅτι αὐτοὺς σφᾶς ἐξέδοσαν· Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ὅτι βίᾳ καὶ ταύτην ἑξεῖλε καὶ ὅτι πάντας τοὺς καταληφθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπέκτεινε. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ καταπεμφθῆναι λέγει αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ δεδέμενους κελεῦσαι φυλάσσεσθαι ἑστ' ἂν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαλλαττηται αὐτός, ὡς μηδένα ἀπολειπόμενον τῶν τὴν ἀπόστασιν πραξάντων.

6 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Σκυθῶν στρατιὰ ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τανάιδος, ἀκούσαντες οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ὅτι ἔστιν οἳ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαρβάρων ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεστᾶσιν ὡς εἰ δή τι λόγου ἂν[1] ἄξιον νεωτερίζοιτο, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς Μακεδόσιν. Καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Σπιταμένην δὲ ἀπηγγελθῆ ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Μαρακάνδοις καταλειφθέντας ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ πολιορκοῦσιν· 7 ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σπιταμένην Ἀνδρομάχου τε ἀποστέλλει καὶ Μενέδημον καὶ Κλεανδρον, ἱππέας μὲν ἔχοντας τῶν ἑταίρων ἐς

[1] ἂν omit Polak suggests δὴ, Krüger οὐκ ἀνάξιον, Abicht ἀντάξιον.

wall seized it, now denuded of defenders. In the first capture of the city about eight thousand of the enemy perished, the rest—the whole number gathered together there was some fifteen thousand fighting men—took refuge in the citadel. These Alexander watched, camping about them, the space of one day, and then they, from want of water, surrendered to Alexander.

The seventh city he took without trouble. Ptolemaeus says they surrendered, but Aristobulus, that Alexander captured this also by force, and slew all whom he found within it; but Ptolemaeus also says that he distributed the men among his army and ordered them to be bound and under guard till he should leave their country, so that none of those responsible for the revolt should be left behind.

Meanwhile an army of the Asian Scythians arrived on the banks of the river Tanais, most of these had heard that some of the natives on the far side of the river had revolted from Alexander and had the intention, should any important rising occur, to join themselves also in attacking the Macedonians. News was also brought that Spitamenes and his troops were besieging those who had been left behind in Maracanda in the citadel. On this Alexander sent against the troops of Spitamenes, Andromachus, Menedemus, and Caranus, with sixty horsemen of the Companions

ἑξήκοντα καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ἑκατοστύας, ὧν Κάρανος ἦγεῖτο. πεζοὶ δὲ μισθοφόροι ἐς χιλίους πεντακοσίους ἐπετάσθησαν δὲ αὐτοῖς Φαρνούχης τοῦ ἑρμηνέα, τὸ μὲν γένος Λύκιος τῶν Φαρνούχην, ἐμπείρως δὲ τῆς τε φωνῆς τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων ἔχοντα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁμιλῆσαι αὐτοῖς δεξιὸν φαινόμενον.

IV Αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἣν ἐπέστησε τείχισας ἐν ἡμέραις τέσσαρσι καὶ ξυνοικίσας ἐς αὐτὴν τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόρων καὶ ὅστις τῶν προσοικούντων βαρβάρων ἐθέλοντης μετασχεῖν τῆς ξυνοικίσεως καὶ τινας καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου Μακεδόνων, ὅσοι ἀπόμαχοι ἤδη ἦσαν, θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς οἷς νόμος αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγῶνα ἵππιόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ποιήσας, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλασσομένους ἔφρα τοὺς Σκύθας ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης
3 τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκτοξεύοντας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐώρωντο, οὐ πλάτυνε τὰ τῇ ὄντα, καὶ τινα καὶ τῶν ὕδρων τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου βαρβαρικῶς ἴδρυσε ἐνοῦντα, ὡς ὅτε ἂν τελευήσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἅψασθαι Σκυθῶν ἢ μαθόντα ἂν ἔ τι περ τὸ διάφορον Σκύθαις τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς βαρβάροις, ὑπὸ τούτων παροξυνόμενος ἐπέσσοι διαβαίνειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς δι᾽ ἠπείρου παρασκευὰς ἐπὶ τῷ πορθ. Θυόμενον δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τὰ ἱερὰ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο· ὁ δὲ βαρὺς μὲν ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς οὐ γιγνομένοις, ὅμως δὲ ἐκαρτέρει καὶ ἔμενεν. Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπαυσαν οἱ Σκύθαι, αἴθις ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει ἐθύετο· καὶ αὖ ἐκ κινδύνου αὐτῷ σημαίνεσθαι Ἀριστάνδρου ὁ μάντις ἔφραζεν· ὁ δὲ ἐρεισσόν ἐφῆ ἐς ἴσχατον κινδύνου ἐλθεῖν ἢ κατεστραμμένον ξυμπάσαν αὖ λόγου δεῖν τὴν

and eight hundred of the mercenaries under Antiochus, and moreover [illegible] up to fifteen hundred, and he appointed to [illegible] Pharnuches the governorship of Lydia to rule over it [illegible] with the agreement of the [illegible] and [illegible] appeared [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].

IV Alexander [illegible] spent twenty days on hunting the way of the [illegible] which he proposed to [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Ἀσιανὴ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἅπασα Σκυθικὴ καθήκουσα ἐπὶ Εὔξεινον πόντον τε καὶ ἐς τὰ ἑῷα τοῦ Φάσιδος. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ οὐκ ἐφῆ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν θεῖον σημαίνεσθαι ἀλλὰ ἀποδείκνυσθαι, ὅτι ἄλλα ἐθέλει ἀκούειν Ἀλεξάνδρου.

4 Ὁ δὲ ὡς αἱ τε διφθέραι αὐτῷ παρεσκευασμέναι ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῷ πόρῳ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐξωπλισμένος ἐφίστηται τῷ ποταμῷ, αἵ τε μηχαναὶ ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος ἐξηκοντίζουν ἐς τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ ἐπεσίοντας ἐπὶ τὴν ὄχθην καὶ ἔστιν αἱ αὐτῶν ἐστρέφοντο ἐς τοὺς θηλέας, οἷς δὴ διὰ τοῦ γένους τὸ καὶ τὸν θώρακα ἐκπαγὲν πληγῆς πίπτει ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου. οἱ μὲν ἐξέκλιναν πρὸς τὸ τῶν θηλέων τὸ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἀφεῖσαν καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ σφᾶς αὐτοῖς τετελευτήκεσαν καὶ

5 ὀλίγων ἀνεχώρησαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τεταραγμένους πρὸς τὰ βέλη ἰδόντος ὑπὸ σὺν τάγματι ἄνευ τοῦ ποταμοῦ αὐτὸς ἡγουμένου εἵποντο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιά. Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς σφενδονήτας ἀποβιβάσας σφενδονᾶν τε καὶ ἐντοξεύειν ἐκέλευεν ἐς τοὺς Σκύθας, ὡς μὴ παλαίειν αὐτοὺς τῇ φαλαγγὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἐμβαλοίσῃ πρὸς τὴν ὄχθην

6 αὐτῷ διαλύσας πᾶσαν. Ὡς δὲ εἶδον ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ ἐγένοντο, ἔφυγον καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μάλα ἐπέταρξαν τῶν ξένων καὶ τῶν παρασφενδονητῶν ὅλας τέσσαρας καὶ τούτους ἐξάμωτοι οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ ἐς τὸ κέλευθον πεφυτευμένον ἐπάλλον τε πολλοὶ ὁμοῦ καὶ, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς διέφευγον. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τοὺς τε τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ψιλοὺς, ὧν Βαλλαῖος ἦρχεν, ἀναμίξαι τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν

[illegible] report.

[illegible]

¹ See Herod. iv. 122 ff.

7 ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας. Ὡς δὲ ἀμφὶ ἡλίου φυγὴν ἐγίγνετο, ἵλησαι ἐκέλευσεν ἐς αὐτοὺς τούς τε ἑταίρους τρεῖς ἴλας καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστὰς ξυμπάντας καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν λευκὴν ἵππον ἄγων ἐσπεδᾶ, ἐνθαλλὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῖς Ἕλλησι. Οὐκοῦν ἔτι οἷόν τε ἦσαν ἐξελίσσειν τὴν ἱππασίαν ἐς κύκλους, ὡς πρόσθεν ἔτι· ἀμοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἵππος προσεῖστο αὐτοῖς, ἀμοῦ δὲ οἱ ψιλοὶ ἀναμεμιγμένοι τοῖς ἱππεῦσι, καὶ οὐκ ἦν τὰς
8 ἐπιστροφὰς ἀσφαλῶς ποιεῖσθαι. Ἔνθα λαμπρὰ ἦν φυγὴ τῶν Σκυθῶν· ἦν καὶ πίπτουσι μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς χιλίους καὶ εἰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων, Σατράκης, ἁλῶσαν δὲ ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα. Ὡς δὲ ἡ διωξις ἐξέλιπε τε καὶ διὰ κενοῦ πολλοῦ παλαιστέρων ἐγίγνετο, δείψει τε ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα εἶχετο καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἔλεγεν πίνει
9 σπουδὴν ἦν ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ. Καὶ ἦν γὰρ πανταχοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ, ῥεῖμα αὖρους κατασκεπτόμενοι αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ ἐπὶ τρὸς ἡ διωξις οὐκ ἐπὶ πάντων Σκυθῶν ἐγίνετο· οἱ δὲ μὴ δεδιότες ἦσαν μὴ καὶ πάντες διαφθαρῶσιν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρῳ τὸ σῶμα δοῦναι. Καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ ἔσχατον κινδύνου ἔλθοντες ἐσωθῆναι ἔπεσθαι δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ οὕτω ξυνῆλθε ἡ μαχὴ τοῖς Ἀμυργίοις.

V Ὀλίγοι δὲ ὕστερον παρὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Σκυθῶν ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον πρεσβεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πραχθέντων τε ἀπολογησόμενοι ἐπεμφθέντες, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐπράχθη, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἁρπαγὴν λῃστρικῷ τρόπῳ στάλεντων, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅτι ἐθέλοιεν πιστὰ τὰ ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι. Καὶ τούτῳ φιλαν-

with the cavalry and led them against the Scythians. Then, when they were quite close, he ordered three regiments of the Companions and all the mounted javelin-men to charge them, and he himself brought up the rest of the cavalry at full speed and charged with his squadrons in column. So the Scythians were no longer able to wheel round in circles as they had been doing just before, for the Greek cavalry was now pressing them at close quarters, and at the same moment the light troops, mingling with the cavalry, prevented their wheeling about to the attack with any security. In fact the flight of the Scythians was by now manifest: there fell of them about a thousand, with one of their commanders Satraces, while about a hundred and fifty were captured. The pursuit was sharp and was distressing because of the great heat, so that all the army was consumed by thirst, and Alexander himself as he rode on drank whatever kind of water there was in that district. The water was however, unwholesome, and so a constant diarrhoea suddenly seized him, and for this reason the pursuit did not extend to the whole body of Scythians. Otherwise I am inclined to think that they would all have perished in their flight had not Alexander had this seizure. He fell indeed into serious danger and was carried back into the camp, and in this way Aristander's prophecy came true.

7 Soon afterwards envoys reached Alexander from the king of the Scythians, they had been sent to express regret for what had occurred on the ground that it had not been any united action of the Scythian state, but only that of raiders and freebooters, the king himself moreover, was desirous to perform what was said upon him. Alexander gave a polite

[illegible]

3 [illegible] Μακεδόνων [illegible]

[illegible]

5 [illegible] Μακεδόνων [illegible]

[illegible]

6 [illegible]

[illegible]

8 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

answer, since it seemed dishonourable not to continue the expedition, if he distrusted the king, and yet it was not exactly the best moment to make the expedition.

The Macedonians, meanwhile, who were being watched in the citadel at Maracanda, on an assault being made on the citadel by Spitamenes and his troops, made a sally and killed some of the enemy, which they drove off the whole body, themselves returning unharmed to the citadel. As soon, however as Spitamenes heard that the force sent by Alexander to Maracanda was already drawing near, he left the siege of the citadel and himself retreated as if to the chief city of Sogdiana[1] Pharnuches, however, and the officers with him hurrying on to drive him off altogether, pursued him as he retreated towards the frontiers of Sogdiana, and unheedingly made a general attack on the nomad Scythians. On this Spitamenes, adding to his force some six hundred Scythian horse, was encouraged by this alliance of the Scythians to await the Macedonians as they came on, he drew up his men on a level space near the Scythian desert, but had no intention of merely awaiting the enemy or himself making a charge upon them, but wheeling round and round shot volleys of arrows into the infantry phalanx. Then when Pharnuches troops charged them, they had no difficulty in riding off their horses being swifter and at the moment fresher while the horses of Andromachus' troops were distressed by the forced march and want of fodder, so that whether they stood their ground or withdrew, the Scythians swooped vigorously upon

[1] Some error, possibly Maracanda (Samarcand) was itself the capital.

6 ἐλαύνοντες οἱ Σκύθαι. Ἔνθα δὴ πολλοὶ μὲν τιτρωσκόμενοι ἐκ τῶν τοξευμάτων, ἔστι δὲ οἳ καὶ πίπτοντες, ἐς πλαίσιον ξυντάξαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνεχώρουν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πολυτίμητον, ὅτι νάπος ταύτῃ ἦν, ὡς μήτε τοῖς βαρβάροις εὐπετὲς ἔτι εἶναι τοξεύειν ἐς αὐτούς, σφίσι τε οἱ πεζοὶ ὠφελιμώτεροι ὦσι.

7 Κάρανος δὲ ὁ ἵππαρχος οὐκ ἀνακοινώσας Ἀνδρομάχῳ διαβαίνειν ἐπεχείρησε τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ταύτῃ καταστήσων τὴν ἵππον· καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ ξυνηκολούθησαν οὐκ ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ φόβῳ τε καὶ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἡ ἔσβασις ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ
8 κρημνώδεις τὰς ὄχθας. Καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων, αὐτοῖς ἵπποις ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸν πόρον. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἤδη διαβεβηκότων καὶ ἀποχωρούντων εἴχοντο, οἱ δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνοντας ἀντιμέτωποι ταχθέντες ἀνεῖλον ἐς τὸν ποταμόν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πλαγίων ἐτόξευον ἐς αὐτούς, οἱ δὲ
9 τοῖς ἔτι ἐσβαίνουσιν ἐπέκειντο· ὥστε ἀπορίᾳ πάντοθεν ξυνεχόμενοι οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐς νῆσόν τινα τὴν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ξυμφεύγουσιν οὐ μεγάλην. Καὶ περιστάντες αὐτοὺς οἱ Σκύθαι τε καὶ οἱ ξὺν Σπιταμένῃ ἱππεῖς ἐν κύκλῳ πάντας κατετόξευσαν· ὀλίγους δὲ ἠνδραποδίσαντο αὐτῶν, καὶ τούτους πάντας ἀπέκτειναν.

VI. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ἐνέδρᾳ τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς διαφθαρῆναι λέγει, τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐν παραδείσῳ κρυφθέντων, οἳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ἐπεγένοντο τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ· ἵνα τὸν μὲν Φαρνούχην παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας

them. And now as a good number of men were being wounded by the arrows, and some actually falling, the officers formed their men into a square and withdrew towards the river Polytimetus, where was a wooded glen near by, so that the Scythians could no longer easily shoot at them, and they themselves could make more use of their infantry.

Caranus, however, the commander of the cavalry, without notifying Andromachus attempted to cross the river, hoping to get his cavalry into safety on this side, and the infantry followed him, not receiving any instructions to do so, but making a panic-stricken and disorderly descent into the river from the precipitous banks. The Scythians seeing this error of the Macedonians, mounted as they were, dashed from all directions into the stream. Some pressed on after those who had already crossed and were retreating, others ranging themselves athwart pulled down into the river those who were trying to cross, others again from the flanks showered arrows at them, and others pressed on such as were just entering the river. Then the Macedonians, helpless every way, took refuge in a body on a small island in the river. The Scythians flocking round them, with Sogdianenes' cavalry in a circle, shot them all down; a few they took as prisoners, but killed all these also.

VI] Aristobulus, however, states that the greater part of this force was destroyed by an ambush, the Scythians having hidden themselves in a park, then they suddenly burst forth upon the Macedonians from their concealment, just at the beginning of the action, just at the moment when Pharnuches was

τοῖς ξυμπεμφθεῖσι Μακεδόσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἐμπείρους ἔχοντα ἔργων πολεμικῶν· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ καθωπλίσθαι τοὺς Βαρβάρους μᾶλλον τι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἑστάλμενον, τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας τε εἶναι καὶ ἑταίρους
1 Βασιλέως. Ἀνδρομάχου δὲ καὶ Κίρανον καὶ Μανιόπιον οὐ δεξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὸ μὲν τι ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν παρὰ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτοὺς τι κατὰ σφᾶς πολιτεύειν, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δείπνῳ οὐκ ἰθελησαντας, εἰ δή τι πρᾶσσειν, μὴ δοῦναι κατ' ἄνδρα μόνον μετέχειν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τὰ πάντα αὐτοὺς κακῶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι. Ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ θορύβῳ τε καὶ τῇ ἀταξίᾳ ἐπιθέμενοι αὐτοῖς τοῖς Βαρβάροις κατακόψαι πάντας, ὥστε ἱππέας μὲν οὐ πλείονας τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἀποσωθῆναι, πεζοὺς δὲ ἐς τριακοσίους.
2 Ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἠγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἤλγησέ τε τῷ παθεῖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἔγνω ἀπουδὴ ἅλωσιν ὡς ἐπὶ Σπιταμένῃ τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν βαρβάρους. Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τῶν τε ἑταίρων ἱππέων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς ξυμπάντας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τοὺς κοινοὺς τοὺς τοῦ Μαρσύου, ἵνα ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ Μαρσύᾳ Σπιταμένην ἐνθυμοῖτο καὶ αὖθις πολιορ-
4 κεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις διελθὼν χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους τῇ τετάρτῃ ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω προσῆγε τῇ πόλει. Σπιταμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη προσιὼν Ἀλέξανδρος οὐκ ἐμπείρως ἀλλ' ἀλλι-
5 πόντως τὴν πόλιν φυλάσσειν. Ὁ δὲ ἔχομενος

retiring from his command in favour of the Macedonians who had been sent with him, on the ground that he was not skilled in military actions, but had been sent by Alexander rather to treat with the natives than to act as leader in battles, while they were both Macedonians and Companions of the king. Andromachus, however, and Caranus and Menedemus did not accept the command, partly that they might not appear to take any fresh action on their own account over and above the commands of Alexander, and partly because in the face of this danger they did not wish to take any individual share in defeat, should this happen; much less to bear the blame, as a body, of having proved bad generals. In this confusion and disorder the Scythians charged down and cut them down in large numbers, so that of cavalry not more than forty escaped, and of foot-soldiers about three hundred.

When this was reported to Alexander he was much distressed at this disaster to his men and decided to march at full speed upon Spitamenes and the tribesmen with him. Accordingly, he took half of the Companions' cavalry, the archers and the Agrianes, and, of the phalanx, the lightest-armed, and marched on Maracanda, whither he had learnt that Spitamenes had returned and was again besieging the garrison in the citadel. Alexander traversed fifteen hundred stades in three days, and on the fourth about dawn approached the city. But Spitamenes and his troops, learning that Alexander was drawing near, did not await him but left the city and fled. Alexander pur-

αὐτὸν ἔλαυνον· ἐς δὲ ὄψιν τοῦ χώματος ἦσαν οὐ ῥᾳ-
δίᾳ ἐσιόντες. θαῦμα τοῖς στρατιώταις οὐ μικρὸν
παρεῖχεν αὐτοῖς ὅστις ποτὲ ὁ τοῦ χώματος ὁ τρόπος τοῦ
φύσεως. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀναστρέφοντες ἐνέβαλλον τοῦ
χώματος καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὰ ἔρυματα κατατρέχουσιν
τοῦ Σαρδιανοῦ ἐπέκειντο ὅτι ξυνεπιβαίνειν ἐδύναντο
λαμπρὸν καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Μασσαγέτας καὶ ἐπειδὴ
ἔσω τοῦ χώματος ἦσαν ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Πάλιν-
6 μπτος ἐναντίος ἐπῆγεται. Ἐπὶ δὲ ἀφεστῶτας
τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ εὖρος ἑπτακοσίων μάλιστα τὸ ἐν κεφα-
λῇ ἔρυμα ἡ χῶμα ἔστιν· ἀφεστῶτος δὲ αὐτοῦ
πολλῷ ὑπὲρ ἄλλον, οὗ τὸν χώματος. Καὶ ἄλλα
ποταμοὶ ἐσπίπτουσιν ἐκεῖ ἀφειστῶτες μεγάλοι καὶ
ἄξενοι, ὁ τε Ἐνάρδης δὲ ῥεῖ ἐκ Μασσαγετῶν τῆς
χώρας καὶ Ἄρκης ἄλλος ἐκπίπτων ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἀκέσινον
τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ Ἐπιπάρδης δὲ ὁ ἐκπίπτων ῥεῖ
7 Καὶ οὗτοι ξυμπίπτουσιν αὖθις τελευτῶντες ποταμῷ
ἑνὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ μοῖρα εἰσὶ τοῦ Πηνειοῦ τοῦ
Θεσσαλικοῦ ποταμοῦ· ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταύτου ῥεῖ
ἐπὶ τὸν τε Θυλακῶνα ὁ δὲ Πολυτίμητος πολὺ
ἔτι μείζων ἢ κατὰ τὸν Πηνειὸν ποταμὸς ἐστί.

VII Ταῦτα δὲ διατρέξαντες οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρου
ἄφικοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ μέσον ἔστι παλίνδρο-
μον τοῦ χώματος. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐφ-
ἑστᾶσιν αὐτοῖν ἡ ἀναφορὰ τῶν ἀ Παρθία καὶ
Κατάνης καὶ Στασάνωρ ὁ τῆς Ἀριείων ἀπο-
στάσεως καὶ Ἀρσάμης συλλήψεσθαι τοῦ τῶ
Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐλπίσαντες ἐπέστησαν. Βαζίρης
δὲτιμα Βησσὸν τὴν Παρθίαιον σατράπην κατα-
στήσας καὶ τιμὰς ἄλλους τῶν τότε ξὺν Βησσῷ
1 ἀποστάντων. Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τῷ αὐτῷ ἕπεσθαι
καὶ Μελαμπιδὰς καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ Ἀρσάμου

sued him closely, and when he reached the place where the battle took place he buried the soldiers as best he could and followed the fugitives right up to the desert. Thence he turned back, and ravaged the district, and slew such of the tribesmen as had taken refuge in the forts, because they too were reported to have joined in the attack on the Macedonians. He traversed the entire country which the river Polytimetus waters, but when the water of the river comes to an end, thence beyond the country is all desert. The stream, though of considerable volume of water, vanishes into the sand. Other rivers, great and perennial ones, disappear there in the same way, the Ispardus, which runs through the Mardian country, the Arius, which gives its name to the country Aria, and the Etymandrus, which runs through the country of the Euergetae. All these rivers are of a size such that none is smaller than the Peneius, the river of Thessaly which runs through Tempe and discharges into the sea, the Polytimetus, however, is out of all comparison larger than the Peneius.

VII. When Alexander had completed this, he arrived at Zariaspa, and there he remained till the depth of winter should pass. Meanwhile there came to him Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea and Stasanor who had been sent to Aria to arrest Arsames, bringing Arsames in chains and Barsaentes, whom Bessus had made satrap of Parthyaea, and others also of those who had revolted with Bessus. There arrived at the same time from the seacoast Epocillus and Melamnadas and Ptolemaeus the

στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, εἰ τὰ τε χρήματα
τὰ ἐν Μαράνδοις ἀφίκετο καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους
ἐς τὰ θαλάσσια ἐπῆγεν. Καὶ Ἀντίοχον
δὲ ἐς τοῦτο ἔπεμπε καὶ Νικάνορα στρατηγὸν Ἑλλη-
νων μισθοφόρων ἀνδρῶν καὶ Βιθυνὸν τὸν Σύμμα
ἐπιτάσσοντα καὶ Ἀπολλωνιάτας τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ
θαλάσσῃ καὶ αὐτοὺς στρατιὰν ἄγοντας.

1 Ἐκεῖθεν ἐξ Ἰκονίου τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔτι
μᾶλλον Ἀλέξανδρον παρώξυνεν ἐς αὐτοὺς. Βιθυνοὶ
καὶ Παφλαγόνες τῶν Δαρείου πολεμίων τὰ πο-
λλὰ ἔτι Βιθυνοὶ ἀπεμάχοντο καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἄκρα
ἐκράτουν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς Ἔκβατα τὰ ἐν Μηδίᾳ καὶ
ἐς τοὺς Μάρδους τοὺς καὶ Περσῶν ξυλλεγο-
2 μένους. Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον
τιμῶμαι Βιθυνὸν ἐποίησεν· ἀλλὰ Δαρείῳ μὲν
ἦσαν πόλεμοι τῶν παραπλησίων τοῖς Κύρου καὶ
ἀναγόντων Ἀλέξανδρον ξυμφορὰ ἐς ξύλλογον τῶν
Μήδων τε καὶ Περσῶν ἔτι τῶν καὶ τοῦ
τοῦ Βαγώου τοῦ Δαρείου· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτο
ἐγὼ ἐπαινέσαιμι ἂν τὸν Μήδιον τοῦτον τὸν
Μαζαίου ἔτι τε καὶ τοιοῦτον Περ-
σικὸν ἐν μεγάλοις πόλεμον στάσιν, καὶ τὸν
αὐτοῦ τὸν Περσῶν τῶν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ αὐτὸ ἐν
αὐτοῖς ἀ πολλὰ τολμᾶν ἐθέλοντα ἀμύνειν καὶ ὑπὲρ
3 δόξης αὐτῶν τοσούτου κίνδυνον ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἢ ἄλλο,
καὶ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλα πράγματα ἐς τοσοῦ-
τον πόλεμον ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα αὐτῷ εἶη κατα-
στῆναι ἐς αὐτοὺς γένος ἄνδρας τε καὶ κατὰ πολε-
μίων δόξαν ἐκπεπονημένους. Μάλιστα δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος
ἐπῆρε τοὺς Δᾶτις τε τὸν τῆς Ἄσης καθήκοντα
εἶναι σατράπην, ἐπιστρατεύσαντα αὐτῷ, καὶ
ὅτι ὁ Ἐρυθρὸς καὶ τῆς Ἄσης τε καὶ Λιβύης

general of the Thracians, they had escorted the treasure sent with Menes and the allies down to the sea. Asander also came at this time and Nearchus, bringing a Greek mercenary force, and Bessus the satrap of Syria, and Asclepiodorus the deputy, from the sea, they also bringing an army.

Then Alexander summoned a conference of those with him and brought out Bessus before them, and accusing Bessus of treachery towards Darius and commanded that his nose and tips of the ears should be cut off, and that he should be carried to Ecbatana, there to be put to death in the full gathering of Medes and Persians. This over-punishing of Bessus I cannot approve, I regard as barbaric the mutilation of the extremities, and I agree that Alexander was carried away to the extent both of copying Median and Persian splendour and also the fashion of barbaric kings to treat their subjects as lower creatures. Nor do I at all commend his taking to Median garb instead of the Macedonian traditional dress, especially since he was a descendant of Heracles. Moreover, he did not blush to exchange the head-dress he had long worn as a conqueror for the tiara of the conquered Persians. I commend none of these things, but I hold that Alexander's own splendid achievements prove, if aught can prove, that neither vigorous bodily strength nor splendour of birth nor greater fortune in war than Alexander's own, nor if anyone might sail round Libya and Asia and subdue them both as Alexander intended, nor if one might add Europe as a third, over and above Libya and Asia—that not one of these

τρίτην, τοῦτον μὲν τι ἄφελος ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν
ἀνθρώπων ὁ μὴ ἀνθρώπου ὁ τούτων ὑπάρχων
τούτῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ μεγάλα, οὐ δοκεῖ,
πράγματα παρέχειν.

V.11 Ἐνθάδε καὶ τὸ Κλείτου τοῦ Δρωπίδου
παθεῖν καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν αὐτῷ ξυμφορᾷ,
ἃ καὶ ἄλλος ἑτέρου ἀνηκέστῳ ἔνι ἔξω τοῦ
καιροῦ ἀφίστησιν. Εἶναι μὲν γὰρ πάρεδρα τοῦ
Διονύσου Μακεδόνες καὶ θύειν Διονύσῳ κατὰ
ἔτη ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου
μὴ ἐν τῷ τότε ἁμιλλᾶσθαι λέγουσι. Διονυσίοις
δὲ θύειν ἐξ ἔτους ὅτι τετράκοντα τοῖς Διο-
νυσίοις τὴν θυσίαν. τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ ἔτους
πρὸ ὥρας καὶ τῷ ἦρι καὶ τὰ τῶν τότε ἔθη Ἀλε-
ξάνδρῳ ἐς τὸ βαθὺ χειμῶνος τετελεσμένα,
ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἔαρι τότε ἦγεν τοῖς Διονυσίοις
λόγους γίγνεσθαι, ἔτους δὲ Διὸς αἰτησάντων αὐτῶν
ἡ γένεσις ἀφῃρέθησαν Τυδίδου. Καὶ τίνος
τῶν παρόντων εὐλαβεῖσθαι τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου οἴου δὴ
ἄνδρα διαφθεῖραι τε καὶ αὖθις παυσάντα
ἀντιβάντα τὰ τῶν βασιλέων πράγματα, αὖτ'
ἄνδρα ἀξιοῦντα ἀμφιλλήλων Ἀλεξάνδρου τε καὶ τοῦ
Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργοις τοῦ Πέλλη εἶναι καὶ τῶν
Κάστορα. Οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀναγκάσαντος
δὴ τὸν πατέρα ἄλλα τῶν φίλων ὑπὲρ ἐμπόδων
ἑστάναι τοῖς ζῶσι τὸ μὴ οὐ τῆς θειοτέρας τιμῆς
αὐτοὺς τε καὶ ξυνάπαντας γίγνεσθαι.

6 Κλείτου δὲ ὅτιῳ μὲν εἶναι πολλὰ δὴ ἀγθο-
μένου τοῦ τε Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ δὴ τῷ βαρβαρικω-
τέρῳ μεταλλάξαντος καὶ τῶν ξυλλεγόντων αὐτὸν
τοὺς λόγους τότε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου
παροξυνόμενον οὐκ ἐᾶν αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ὑβρίζειν,
γὸο

things is of any use to make a man's happiness, unless the man that has done, in the eyes of the world, these mighty deeds, has learnt the mastery of himself.

VIII. At this point it will not be unreasonable to relate the death of Cleitus son of Dropides and what happened to Alexander after it, even though it actually occurred later. The Macedonians kept a festival of Dionysus and Alexander sacrificed to him yearly on the festival; it is said that only on this particular occasion Alexander neglected Dionysus but sacrificed to the Dioscuri having for some reason decided thus to sacrifice to the Dioscuri. However, the drinking was prolonged and, in fact Alexander had already taken to barbaric ways in drinking, and in the course of the drinking bout talk occurred about the Dioscuri, and how their fatherhood was no longer attributed to Tyndareus but referred to *Zeus*. Some of the company, that type of men who always have spoiled and always will continue to harm the interests of the reigning monarch out of flattery to Alexander, gave out as their opinion that there was no comparison between Castor and Pollux and Alexander and Alexander's achievements. Others, being as they were in drink, did not even stop short of Heracles, it was only envy, they said, which stood in the way of those yet living and kept them from receiving their due honours from their contemporaries.

Cleitus however, had clearly, for some time past, been distressed both with Alexander's change towards the more barbaric style and the expressions of his flatterers, and now under the stimulus of wine he could not permit them to offer these insults to divine

εἶπε τὰ τῶν παλαι ἡρώων ἔργα ἐνθυμούμενος
γαμεῖ ταύτην ἔχουσαν πρόσοψιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
8 εἶναι γὰρ οὐ οἷόν τε Ἀλεξάνδρου οὕτω τι
μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἐς τύχην ἐναιρούσης
εἶναι μόνον τὸ κατεπράξαι αὐτά. ἀλλὰ τὰ
πολλὰ γὰρ μέρη Μακεδόνων εἶναι τὰ ἔργα. Καὶ
τούτου τὸν λόγον ἐποιοῦντο Ἀλεξάνδρου λεγόντος
Οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἐπαινῶ τὸν λόγον ἀλλὰ ἰδίαν τινὰ
εἶναι τιθέμενος ἀρετὴν τὰ καθ' αὑτὸν
αἰτιᾶται ἔχειν μηδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς
6 κοινωνίαν τιθέμενον. Ὡς δὲ καὶ τῶν Φιλίππου
τινὲς ἔργων ὅτι οὐ μεγάλα οὐδὲ θαυμαστὰ
Φιλίππῳ κατεφαίνετο, οὐδαμοῦ ἐν ἴσῃ ἐνεμεν-
σθησαν χαρίζεσθαι καὶ οὗτοι Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ
Κλείτου δὲν οὐκέτι δὴ τὰ τοῦ ἔργα τοῦ
μὲν τὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου. κατελάλησε δὲ Ἀλεξαν-
δρου καὶ τὰ τούτου ἔργα, παρομοίως ἄλλῃ
τῶν Κλείτου τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τόλμαν εἶναι
ἐξονειδίζοντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι τροπὴ αὐτοῦ ἔρα
καὶ ἀδίκῳ αὐτοῦ ἡ τυραννὶς ἡ ἐπὶ Ἕλληνας
7 ξυνεστῶσα πρὸς Πέρσας καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρ-
τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτῆρος ἀποστερεῖσθαι λόγῳ ὡς ἡ χει-
φοῦσα ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν τῆς τύχης ἔπαινος. Καὶ
Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτοῦ φέρουν τοῦ Κλείτου τὸν
παροινοῦντα τε καὶ ὕβριν ἄλλα ἀνατιθέντα γὰρ
ξυμποσίῳ ἐν αὐτῷ κατεχρῆσθαι δὲ τῷ τῶν
ξυμποτῶν. Κλείτου δὲ οὐκ αὐτοῦ νοσοῦντα.
8 Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ εἶναι ἀποκλῆναι τοὺς ὑπνους αὐτὰς
αὐτοῦ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντος ἐς ταῦτα ἤδη καθεστη-
κέναι Δαρεῖον αὐτοῦ τῶν Ὑστάσπου τε καὶ τοῦ
ἄλλου Βασσέως ξιλλοφόρους ἥκειν αὐθὶς τε ἄλλα ὅτι
μὴ ἄνομα ἦν βασιλεῖ. Οὕτως ὅτι οἷόν τε
γὰρ

beings, or, by belittling the deeds of the heroes of old, to do to Alexander this kindness that was far from kind. He felt that Alexander's achievements were not so great and wonderful as they exaggerated them to be; nay, Alexander had not achieved them by himself, but they were for the great part Macedonian achievements. When he uttered these thoughts, Alexander was deeply hurt. I do not commend Cleitus' words either. I rather think it enough, amid such drunkenness, for a man to keep his own views to himself, and so avoid the errors of flattery of the rest. However, when some even referred to Philip's achievements, quite unjustly suggesting that Philip had done no great or wonderful deeds these also trying to gratify Alexander, Cleitus could no longer control himself and sprang up on behalf of Philip's achievements, making a tale of Alexander and his, and being now heated with wine, among other things he even became voluble in reproaches to Alexander, that after all Alexander owed his life to him, when the cavalry battle on the Granicus was fought with the Persians, and, what is more, holding out with a superb air his right hand, cried, This very hand, Alexander, saved you then. On this Alexander could no longer brook the drunken arrogance of Cleitus, and leapt up in anger to strike him; but was held back by his boon companions. Still Cleitus did not restrain his insults. Thereupon Alexander shouted out, calling on his bodyguard; but as no one obeyed, he cried that he had come to the same pass as Darius, when he was led prisoner by Bessus and his confederates, and that he had nothing now left of king but the name. No longer could his friends

εἶναι παντάπασι φανερὸν τοῖς ἀκούουσι, ἀλλ' ὅσα
συνέπεσεν τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἀρτιφανῆ λεγόντων
τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τινὰ καὶ τοῦτο θαυμάσαι
Κλείτου ἀποκτείναντος αὐτὸν ἐν συμποσίῳ παρὰ τὸν
6 φόνον τινὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ Δημητρίου δὲ τοῦ
ἄθλου μὲν ἡ τύχη ἀπεστέρησε τὸν λόγον Κλείτου
δὲ γενέσθαι μόνου τὴν αἰτίαν δὴ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς
Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀποτεθνηκότας ἐν αὐτοῦ
δὲ διαμαρτόντος, ἀποξύσαντα μὲν διὰ φόνου
ἔξω ὑπὸ τοῦ χρεὼν τὸ καὶ τοῦ τάφου τὴν δόξαν
ἐπὶ δίκαιον τῶν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ λαγοῦ τοῦ
σωματοφύλακος οὐ παρεσκευάσατο δὲ ἀπὸ
στόματος αἰδὼς καὶ τιμωρητὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τε
τοῦδε Κλείτου ἀποκαλοῦντα, καὶ φάσκοντα ὅτι
οὐκοῦν τοῦ σφε ὁ Κλείτου ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἐν
τούτῳ πλημμελὲς τὸ σῶμα ἀπέβαινεν.

IX. Καὶ τὸν Κλείτου μὲν τὸν τρόπον τῆς δὲ τοῦ
βίου λύσεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεγαλοπρεπῆ μυθολογοῦσι. Ἀλε-
ξάνδρου δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς αὐτίκα ὅτι ἔννους
καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε μετεμέλετο ἀνοήτῳ αὐτὸν
τῷ ὀργῇ δῆλα καὶ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐπιλαβόμενα
ἐξιστάμενα ὁρᾶν τε καὶ παρεῖναι
7 λόγῳ τε αὖ τοιῷδε μὲ ἐκείνῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου,
ὅτι παρεῖναι ἔφασαν σχεδὸν ἔρρειν ἐπιτεθυμηκότι
καὶ λέγουσι αὐτοῦ οἱ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
ὅτι ἐρίσαντε τὸν σώματος πρὸς τοῦ τοίχου στὰς
ἐπιστὰς ἐγκαρσίαν αὐτῷ ἔχοντι τὴν
8 ἀναστήσασθαι φίλον αὐτὸν ἐν αἴσῃ. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ
δὲ ξυγγραφῇ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ λέγουσιν ἀποκλίνοντα

[1] ἔφασαν ἔρρειν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν σώματος Ἀλεξάνδρου, but there is no
need to change the text. Arrian can use impersonal
verbs in this way.

hold him back, but he leapt up and, as some say, snatched a spear from one of the guard and therewith smote and slew Cleitus, but, according to others, a long pike from one of the guard, and with this slew him. But Aristobulus, while not telling us the origin of this drinking bout, holds that the entire fault lay in Cleitus, since he, as Alexander broke into passion and leapt up to slay him, was hurried away through the doors over the wall and ditch of the citadel, where all this happened, by Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, one of the bodyguards, and yet could not control himself, and hurried back, and arriving just as Alexander was calling out 'Cleitus!' himself cried, "Behold, here is Cleitus, Alexander'" and there and then was smitten with the pike and so died.

IX. I myself strongly blame Cleitus for his insulting behaviour towards his king; Alexander I pity for this mishap, since he showed himself therein the slave of two vices, by neither of which any self-respecting man should be overcome, namely, passion and drunkenness. But for the sequel I commend Alexander, in that he immediately perceived that he had done a foul deed. Some say that Alexander leaned the pike against the wall, intending to fall upon it himself, as no longer worthy to live when he had slain a friend through drunkenness. But most historians do not relate thus. They tell us that Alexander took to

δὲ ἐκ τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ ἑβδομήκοντα, αὐτὸν τε τὸν Κλεῖτον ἀποκτείνει ἀπόπληκτον ἐκ τοῦ Κλείτου μὲν ἀδελφὸν αὐτὸν δὲ ἀποθνῄσκοντα λαβόντα τὸν δρυτῶν τινὰ, ὃς ἐκεῖνα ἐμαντεύετο τότε
4 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ἀκμῇ ἦν. ἐπὶ τοῖς μὲν πεπραγμένοις τοῦτο τὸ τέλος αὐτὸν μετέμεινεν· ἐπειδὴν ἀποθανόντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐς αὐτὸν αὖτις αὖθις χρῆναι ἔστιν φόνου τὸ τοῦ φίλου· οἱ δὲ διδάσκουσι ὁ τοῦ ἀποκτείναντος δεῖται τὸ καὶ ἔστιν καθαρσίοις κατὰ τὰ τρία μνῆ ἀπὸ φυλῆς τῆς ἄλλης θύοντάς τε καὶ
5 καθαίροντας τὸ σῶμα. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ μὲν τότε μῆνὶ δὲ Δίοσκουροι ἦσαν ὅτι ἡ θυσία ἐγένετο Διοσκούρων ἡ τοῦ Διονύσου. Καὶ Διοσκούροιν μοῦνοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐφάνησαν αὐτοὶ τὸ πῦρ τὸ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καίοντες[1] ἀθάνατον καὶ τὴν Διονύσου τὴν θυσίαν ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔχοντι δὲ ἡ μοῖρα τοῦ θεοῦ μᾶλλον τι ἢ τῶν αὐτῶν ἑκατέρα
6 ἀποφέρεσθαι τὸν ξυμφορῶν. Ταῦτα μεγάλοισιν ἔτεσιν Διοσκούροιν τὸ μὴ ἀπαιδεῖ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῷδε μὴ τροφεύσαντα τὸ καὶ ξυνεπόμενον κακὸν ἐπὶ γενεαῖς τοῦ ἀναπαύσεται, ἀλλὰ συμφορὴν τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἐπίσχουσιν τὸ ἔτος
7 τὸ δὲ ἐς τὸ κατὰ τοῦτο Διοσκούρων τὸν σοφιστὴν βλέπειν μὲν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐπιόντα ἐς τὸν μαθητὴν ἐπιόντα ἐς τὸν ἐπιτήδειον καὶ ἐπιστάμενον[2] ἐπιτηδεύσαντα ἀνυσίμως φύσει, διότι ἐπὶ τρία ἐν τοῖσι σοφοῖ δεῖ, ἐπὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρεῖναι τὸν Διὸς ἐπιστάμενον, ὃς ἐ τὸ ἔτος τὸν Διὸς

[1] ποιεῖν "producing" may be right. Rohl gives βάλλων. Perhaps ἐπὶ τοῦτο.

[2] Perhaps ἐπὶ τοῦτο.

his bed and lay there lamenting, crying out the name of Cleitus and of Cleitus' sister, Lanice daughter of Dropides, who had nursed him: "What a fine gift for her nursing had he given her, now come to man's estate! she had seen her sons die fighting for him, and now with his own hand he had murdered her brother." He kept again and again calling himself the slayer of his friends, and lay three days without food or drink, and careless of all other bodily needs.

Hereupon some of the prophets kept uttering hints of wrath from Dionysus, because Alexander had neglected the sacrifice to Dionysus. With some difficulty Alexander was brought by his friends to take food, and took some slight care of his person; then he paid the due sacrifice to Dionysus, since indeed he was not unwilling that the disaster should be referred to divine wrath rather than to his own evil nature. In this I have high commendation for Alexander, that he did not brazen out his evil act, nor degrade himself by becoming champion and advocate of his misdeed, but confessed that, being merely human, he had erred.

Some authorities say that Anaxarchus the Sophist came by summons to Alexander, and finding him lying moaning, laughed at him and said that Alexander had not learnt that the old philosophers made Justice to sit by the throne of Zeus just for this reason,

συμβῆ τοῦτο ἢ ἐκ δόξης τοιαύτης καὶ οὐ
καὶ τὰ ἐς ἄλλο τοῦ μεγάλου γενόμενα ἔκπαλαι
χρόνου ἀναζητοῦσι. τοῦτο μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῖς
βαρβάροις ἐνίστε τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων
5 Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν ἀκούσαντος
δὲ τὴν τοῦ λόγου ἀκρίβειαν οὐ πάνυ τι ἐξήτασα
ἐγὼ δέ. Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν καὶ μείζονα ἢ ὡς ὁ λόγος
ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν εἶναι σοφόν τε καὶ τοῦδε ἕνεκα
καὶ ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ἐς τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐς ἄλλους ἀφορῶντα
ἐπιτηδεύσεων πραγμάτων τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀλλὰ ἐς τὰ
10 ἐς αὐτὸν αὖ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων
ἔπαινον ποιούμενον. ἔτι καὶ προσεπιστάμενόν
Ἀλεξάνδρου λόγους κατέχειν ἐπιστήμη μὲν
αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸν Ἀριστοτέλους μᾶλλον
τι ἢ Φιλίππου ἐξέπλησε θαυμάζοντα δὲ ἐξ τὰ
Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν τῇ ἀνομίᾳ
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων τῇ μεγαλουργίᾳ. Ὅτι
δὲ ἐνδεὴς ἦν ὁ λόγος τοῦτο αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐπαινεῖν
δὲ αὐτὸν ἐνδεέστερον ἄλλοι τε ἔφασαν καὶ ἦν
τῶν σοφιστῶν τῶν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ Ἀναξάρχου τε καὶ
Ἄνιδος λόγους ποιουμένων.

X Καλλισθένους τε τοῦ Ὀλυνθίου Ἀριστοτέλους
τε τοῦ λόγου ἀκροατοῦ καὶ τοῦ τρόπου ἦν
ὑπερηφανώτερον καὶ ἀπαιδευτότερον. Τοῦτο μὲν
δὴ ἔφασαν καὶ αὐτοὶ Καλλισθένει ξυμφορὰν
εἶναι τὸ ἀκριβὲς συγγράφειν ἐπὶ τοῦ Καλλισθένους
εἶναι ἄλλοι ξυγγράφοντας, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸν τὰ εἴκοσι
ἀνῆφθαι ἔτη καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ξυγγράφειν Ἀλέξανδρόν τε
καὶ τὰ Ἕλλησι πεπραγμένα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀφίκετο
ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀπορρήτοις, ἀλλὰ ἐς τοὺς
ἐκείνου τε ἀκροατὰς ποιούμενος. Καὶ οὐδὲ καὶ τοῦ
θείου τοῦ μητρυιοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου οὐκ ἐξ ὃν

that whatsoever is done by Zeus is done with Justice, even so what is done by a great king should be held just, both by the king himself and by all the world. With these words he consoled Alexander for the time, but I say that he did Alexander a wrong more grievous than the trouble which beset him. If indeed he gave this opinion as that of a philosopher that the king need not really give all diligence to choose out and do just deeds, but that we must hold whatsoever the King does, in whatsoever way it may be done, to be just. For the tale goes that Alexander even desired people to bow to the earth before him, from the idea that Ammon was his father rather than Philip, and since he now emulated the ways of the Persians and Medes both by the change of his garb and the altered arrangements of his general way of life. It is said that he had in train a host of Asiatic flatterers who yielded to him in this, and not least among them Anaxarchus, one of the Sophists at his court and Agis of Argos an epic poet.

X. Callisthenes of Olynthus, however, a pupil of Aristotle, and with something of the boor in his character, did not approve all this, and herein I agree with Callisthenes. But I think quite out of place the remark of Callisthenes, if correctly reported, that Alexander and his achievements were all dependent on himself and his history. He himself, he said, hoped for no glory in coming to Alexander, but rather to make Alexander famous in the sight of men; and again, that Alexander's share in divinity

Ὀλυμπιάδι ἔτει τῇ τετάρτῃ αὐτοῦ φυλάξεται
ἀπηγορεύθη· ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν δὲ αὐτὸς ἔγραψε
3 ἔρου ξυγγράψαι ἐξεστιν ἐς ἀκρίβειαν. ἔλεγε
δὲ οἱ καὶ τάδε ἀπογράψασθαι ὡς ἄρα ἥκοι ποτε
αὐτὸν Φίλιππος ὅτι τὰ μάλιστα μελέτα τιμᾶσθαι
ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλοὶ τοῦ δὲ ἀποφαί-
νασθαι Δημοσθένη καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντα, ὅτι τοῦ
ἄλλου τοῦ τε ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τυραννίδα ὅτι
6 κατεσκεύασε. ἐνταῦθα αὖθις τὸν Φίλιππον ἐς τὴν
τυραννίδα ἐπαινεῖν· ὑπάρχειν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐνεστῶσαι
τοῦ Ἑλλήνων φύσιν ἀνεμέτρητον καὶ ἀπορ-
νασθαι αὖθις Δημοσθένη ἐς καὶ μὴ τὰ
ἄλλα παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ὅτι φύσει ἐναντίως
ἐκείνοις τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου
πολέμους ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους,
τυραννουμένοις δὲ τῇ τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

9 Τὰ δὲ τῶν προκαταρκτικῶν ἔτους πρωτεύθη
Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τοιάδε κατέχει λόγος. Ξυ-
νεστάθει μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ
ἀφίστασθαι τε καὶ τοῦ ἀμφὶ αὐτὸν Πέρσου καὶ
Μήδου τοῦ δυναστεύοντος μᾶλλον τοῦ λοιποῦ
12 τε ἐς τὸ ἐμπαλιν· ἔδοξε δὲ τοῦ λόγου
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὡς πολὺ δικαιότερον δὴ ἔτι νομίζο-
μενον Ἀλεξάνδρου Διὸς εἶναι τε καὶ Ἡρακλέους,
μὴ ἔτι τῶν ἔργων ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἥκιστα κατα-
πεπρᾶσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι Διονύσου
μὲν Θηβαίου δὲ οὐδὲν τι προσῆκον Μακε-
δόσι καὶ Ἡρακλῆς Ἀργείος· οὐδὲ οὗτος πρὸ
15 τοῦ ὅτι μὴ κατὰ γένος τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου
Ἡρακλέους γὰρ εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνας
δὲ αὖ τὸν πρῶτα Ἡρακλέα δικαιότερον θεῖναι τιμᾶς
κομιοῦντας. ἦκε γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄκοντα εἶναι ἀφι-

did not depend on Olympias' fanciful story of his birth, but upon his own account of Alexander which should be given to the world in his history. Some relate too that Philotas once asked him whom he thought to be held in highest honour by the Athenians, and he replied, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, because they slew one of the two tyrants, and destroyed the tyranny. Then Philotas asked him again if a tyrannicide could find a safe refuge among any of the Greeks he wished? and Callisthenes again answered that if not elsewhere, at least if he fled to Athens such a one would be safe since the Athenians, on behalf of the children of Heracles, had even fought against Eurysthenes, who was tyrant then over Greece.

And as to Callisthenes' opposition to Alexander in the matter of bowing to the ground before him, there is a story as follows. It had been agreed between Alexander and the Sophists and the most illustrious of the Persians and Medes at his court that there should be mention made of this topic at a wine-party. Anaxarchus began the subject, saying that it would be far more just to reckon Alexander a god than Dionysus and Heracles, not so much because of the many great achievements of Alexander, but also because Dionysus was a Theban, and had no connection with Macedon, and Heracles an Argive, also unconnected with Macedon, save by Alexander's descent, for he was a son of Heracles, but that Macedonians were more justified in honouring their own king with divine honours. For in any case there

λογου ὅτι ἀναλίσκονται τε ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ θεου τιμωρουμενοι· ποσῳ δὲ διαφεροντως ζωντα τεθνηκοτα ὕστερα τελευτησαντα δὲ αὐτικα ἀφανιζει τὸν τιμωρούμενον.

XI Λεχθεντων δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοιουτων λογων πρὸς Ἀναξαρχον τοτε μὲν μετεχωρησαν τῆς βασιλικῆς θεωριας τοῦ λογου καὶ ἐν ἀπόκλισει ἐφεστῶτες τὴν προσευνησουσαν τοῖς Μακεδοσιν ἐς τοὺς τελλας μαχουμενους τῷ λογῳ σιγὴ ἐχειν

1 Καλλισθενης δὲ ἀναπαλιντονα. Ἀναξαρχου μὲν, φησιν, ὦ Ἀναξαρχε σοφωτατε οὐ ζῶν ἀπο φασιν τιμᾶν δεινοτατον ἀνθρωπων ἀλλα διαφερεσθαι τῶν τοῦ ἀνθρωπου καὶ τὸ ἀνθρωπινον τιμᾶν καὶ ἐνια θεμις τελλειν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων καθαπερ καὶ τὸ ἀποδομενον τῶν ἀποκτανοντων καὶ τιμωρησαι δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξ αὐτου καὶ θυειν ἐπιφανεσι καὶ σωτηρσι καὶ ζωντι μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν τοσουτων ἐνομιζον δὲ ἐς ἀνθρωπους,

2 ἀτερ αὐχ ἥκιστα τῷ τῆς προσευνησεως τοιουτῳ μὲν νῦν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁρᾶν τοὺς τὸν ἀποθανοντα τὸν θεῖον ἐν ὀστοις καὶ ἀνθρωπον καὶ οἷόν φασιν αὐτὸν θεμις ἐστι τελεῖν ἀνὰ τὴν προσευνησιν γενεσθαι καὶ χρὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἵστασθαι καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἄλλοτε ἄλλα καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστον, ὅτοτε τε καὶ αὐτοὺς τῶν θεῶν ἄλλους ἄλλα τιμᾶν προσεῖναι καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄλλα καὶ αὖτα ἀποτεταμενα

6 τοῦ θεοῦ. Ὅτιοὖν ἐστι ξύμπαντα τοῦτο ἀνα προσευνησιν τοῦ μὲν ἀνθρωπου ἐς σχῆμα ἀνεμνησεν καθεστανα τῶν τιμῶν τοῦ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ τὸ γε ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐς τοσοῦτον τὰ ἴσα ἀνθρω-

was no doubt that when Alexander had passed away from men they would honour him as a god: how much more just, then, that they should honour him in life rather than when dead, when the honour would profit him nothing.

XI. When then Anaxarchus had spoken thus, and to this purport, those who were in the plot approved his statement and indeed desired to begin the ceremony of prostration. The Macedonians however, for the most part disagreed with these remarks, and kept silent. But Callisthenes broke in and said: "Anaxarchus, I hold Alexander unworthy of no honour fit for mankind: but, in point of fact, lines have been drawn for men between honours fit for mortals and honours fit for gods in many diverse ways, as by the building of temples and setting up of images and since enclosures have been set apart for the gods and since we sacrifice to them, and offer libations, and hymns are composed to gods, while eulogies are composed for men, but chiefly in this very custom of bowing down before them. Those who greet their fellow-men kiss them: but as for the gods, since they are set far above us and we may not even touch them, hence they are honoured by our bowing down before them, dances, too, are held in honour of the gods, and paeans sung before them, and this is nothing out of the way, since among the gods themselves some have these honours attached and some those: and what is more, they are again different for the heroes, and these distinct from those paid to gods. It is not, therefore, proper to confuse all this, and to raise mortals to an extravagant grade by excesses of honour, and to reduce the gods, as far as can be done, to an unseemly humiliation, by honour-

ους τιμῶντας. Οὔκουν οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον
ἀναιτιάτους δὴ καὶ τοῦ ἴσου τε καὶ ὁμοίου τοῦ
τῶν βασιλικῶν τιμῆς χωρισμὸν ἡ ψῆφος αὕτη
ἔλαβεν. Πολὺ δὲ οὐδὲ ἓν ἐς στάσιν τοῦτο θεοῦ
δυσχεραίνειν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου τε τὰς θείας τιμὰς
οὐκ ἐπιστάμενον ἢ τὸ ἐς τὸν ἄλλον ἐπιτιμᾶσθαι
μετὰ ἀκριβείας. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κοινοῦ
ἁπάντων ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ τρόπου τῶν καὶ βουλῆς καὶ
βασιλικοῦ τοῦ ἐς λαοὺς καὶ στρατιὰν τοῦ
ἀξιοστρατηγοτάτου. Καὶ ἐς ἄστρα τινὰ ἄλλα,
ἃ λευκίππῳ σοφιστῇ τε τοῦτο τοῦ λόγου
ἦχθαι γεγνώσθαι καὶ σοφίστῃ τοῦ στρατιῶν τοῦ
σοφὸν τε καὶ παιδείαν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξύνεστα.
Οὐκοῦν ἄρχειν γε τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου πρέπον ἦν,
ἀλλὰ μαντικῇ γὰρ οὐ καιρὸν οὐδὲ Ξέρξῃ
ξύνεστα ἡ ξυμβουλεύσασα· ἀλλὰ Φιλίππου μὲν
παιδὶ Ἡρακλέους δὲ ἀπὸ γένους καὶ Ἀχιλλεῖ,
ὃν οἱ τροφεὺς ἦν Ἀχιλλεὺς τε Μακεδόνων ἄριστα
ἐπιστάμενος. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Ἡρακλέα
ζῶντι ἔτι θείας τιμὰς ταῦτα Ἕλληνες ἐνόμισαν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσαντι πρόσθεν ἢ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ
τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπιθεσπιεπῆ ἐκ θεοῦ τιμᾶν
Ἡρακλέα. Τὰ δὲ, ὅτι δὴ τῷ Βορυσθενίτῃ τῷ ἐς
λόγου γνῶσιν βαρβάρῳ χρὴ ἦσαν τὰ
φρονήματα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι μεμνῆσθαι
ἐς αὐτὰ ἃ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ἄστει ἐποίει ἐς τοὺς ἀστοὺς
ἐπιτήδεια, προσήκειν τὸν λόγον τὸν Ἑλλάδι
καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ἀκούσῃ σκοπεῖν ἄρα τε καὶ
τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς ἐκείθεν ἀπάντων πρὸς
ἀνθρώπους τε τὰ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἡ Ἑλλὰς μὲν
οὖσα, Μακεδόνες δὲ πρόσθεν τῆσδε τῆς

ing them on the same level as men. Alexander himself would not brook it for a moment if some private person laid claim to the royal honours by right of some unconstitutional election or vote. Much more rightly then would the gods be angry with any mortal who invesling themselves with divine honours or permitting others so to invest them. Now Alexander both is and is thought to be above all measure the bravest of the brave, most mighty of Kings, most worthy to command of all commanders. As for you, Anaxarchus, you above all should have taken the lead in this discourse and put a stop to the opposite argument, being as you are attached to Alexander as philosopher and instructor. It was most improper that you should take the lead in this line of argument; you should rather have remembered that you are not attending nor advising some Cambyses or Xerxes, but a son of Philip, by race a descendant of Heracles and of Aeacus whose forefathers came from Argos to Macedonia, and long held sway there, not as tyrants but as constitutional monarchs of Macedonia. But not even to Heracles himself were divine honours paid by the Greeks while he yet lived; nay, even after his death they were not paid before an oracle was given by the god of Delphi that Heracles was to be honoured as a god. If however we must think in foreign fashion, since our discussion takes place in a foreign country, yet even so I beg you, Alexander, to remember Greece for whose sake all your expedition took place, to add Asia to Greece. Moreover consider this also on your return to Greece will it be Greeks, the most free of all mankind, whom you will compel to bow down before you or will you perhaps exempt the Greeks, and absolve the Mace-

ἀτιμίαν ἢ δικαιοσύνην ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν τιμῶν ἐς ἅπαντας· ὡς πρὸς Ἕλληνας μὲν καὶ Μακεδόνας ἀνθρωπίνως τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς τιμᾶσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους μόνους βαρ-
8 βαρικῶς· εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσου λέγεται τὸν πρῶτον προσκυνηθῆναι ἀνθρώπων Κῦρον καὶ ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη ἄρξαι Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων τηνικαῦτα τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης οὐκ χρὴ ἀθυμεῖσθαι, ὅτι τὸν Κύρου τάφον Ἀλέξανδρος ἐσῆλθεν καὶ, πίνακες ἔνδοθι καὶ ἀσπίδες, καὶ Δαρείου ἅλλα καὶ Σκυθῶν καὶ Ξέρξου Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου Κλεάρχου καὶ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων μνῆμα, καὶ Δαρείου τοῦτον Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν προσεκύνησεν.

XII Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τοιαῦτα σίτεται Καλλισθένην ἀνιάσαι μὲν μεγάλως Ἀλέξανδρον, Μακεδόνας δὲ πρὸς θῆρα αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τοῦτο τοῦτο Ἀλέξανδρον σκῆψαντα κωλῦσαι Μακε-
2 δόνας μισηθῆναι ὅτι τῆς προσκυνήσεως· Ἀλλὰ φύσιν τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀναστῆσαι Περσῶν τῶν προσδυτάτων ἐφέξης προσκυνεῖν Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἕνα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐπιόντα τε ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἀσπασάμενον τὸν Περσῶν οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα προσκυνῆσαι, τὸν δὲ ἐπιγελάσαι τῇ ἀγνωμοσύνῃ τοῦ Περσῶν ὡς ταπεινοῦ[1] καὶ τοῦτον χαλεπήναντα τότε Ἀλέξανδρον ξυναλλαγῆναι αὖθις ἀναφανέντας
3 δὲ ἐπὶ καὶ τοιοῦδε λόγου· Πρότερον φιλῶ χρυσῶν ἐν ἀνδρὶ Ἀλέξανδρον πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτον πρὸς σωτῆρος ξυνήκειν αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς προσκυνήσεως· τὸν δὲ πρῶτον δεινῶσαι τὸν

[1] Ellendt reads ὡς τοῦτον τὸν ταπεινόν. Perhaps τοῦτον ὡς

donians with this shame? or will you draw a line thus in the matter of honours for all the world, that by Greeks and Macedonians you shall be honoured as a man, but by foreigners only in this foreign fashion? But if it is said of Cyrus son of Cambyses that Cyrus was the first of men to receive this homage of bowing to the ground, and that therefore this humiliation became traditional with Persians and Medes, yet you must remember that this very Cyrus was brought to a better mind by Scythians, a poor but free people; Darius too by other Scythians, Xerxes by Athenians and Lacedaemonians, and Artaxerxes by Clearchus and Xenophon and their Ten Thousand, and Darius now by Alexander, as yet unworshipped by prostrations."

XII This, and to this effect, spake Callisthenes; and while he irritated Alexander exceedingly, he found favour with the Macedonians, and, perceiving this, Alexander sent and bade the Macedonians to take no thought for such prostrations in future. When, however, a silence fell after these words, the senior of the Persians arose and one by one bowed low before Alexander. But Leonnatus one of the Companions, thinking that one of the Persians made his bow ungracefully, mocked the Persian's attitude, as something abject, at which Alexander was very angry, though he was reconciled with him again. A story also occurs as follows:—Alexander sent round a loving cup, a golden one, first to those with whom he had made the arrangement about the prostrations, then the first guest drinking of it rose up, prostrated him-

φιλίαν πρασεκτέον τε ἀνδράσιν καὶ φίλην θέσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦτο οὐχὶ διὰ παντὸς
4 χαριστέα. Ὁ δὲ τε Καλλισθένην ἄκων ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρώνας μὴ καλλίστην καὶ ἀστεῖον τὸν φίλον, καὶ προσελθόντα οὐδὲν φίλοφρονούμενος. Τῶν δὲ τι χεῖρον καὶ τοὺς διαλεκτικοὺς Ἡφαιστίωνι αἰσχύνη προσεχεῖν τὸν νοῦν οὐδὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς προσεκτικῆς σοφίας ἐπιτηδεύειν αὐτῷ
5 Καλλισθένει σχολή. Ἀλλὰ Δημητρίου γοῦν τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἅμα τῶν ἑταίρων οἱ πρεσβύτατοι αὐτῷ τε Καλλισθένει φίλτατον, φασὶ δὴ οὐ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς πρεσβύτου πρεσβεῖα καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ παρασχεῖν φίλτατα ἑαυτῷ τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένην, φίλτατα φασὶ, διαττῶν ἔχειν ἀνδρί.
6 Καὶ τούτων ἔγωγε ἅμα δὲ τε εἶδον τὸν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα καὶ ἐς ἀκριβείαν τοῦ Καλλισθένους φάσματος, οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ γε ἀκριβὲς τεθεᾶσθαι εἰκάσειν φημὶ οὔθ' ὅτου ἀνθρώπου τὰ βασιλικὰ πράγματα ἔτη τε ξυνεσκε οὔθ' ὁπόσους ἐπιτήδειος
7 ἦν ἀνακτᾶσθαι δὲ ἀνεχθείας γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Καλλισθένης τιθέμενος ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκαιρίᾳ τε παρρησίᾳ καὶ ὑπερηνόρεσιν ἀβελτερίαις ἐφ' ἅτῃ τεκμαιρόμενος μὴ χαλεπῶς ἀνεκτέον τοὺς κατειπόντας Καλλισθένους ἐπὶ μετοχῇ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς περὶ τοῦτον Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἄκριτον αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. Ἐπεισθῆ δὲ τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὧδε

XIII Τῶν φίλων δὲ ὅτῳ καθεστηκὸς τῶν δορυφόρων τοὺς παῖδας ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκπαιδεύεσθαι, καταλεγόντων δὲ δορυφόρων τοὺς

self, and received a kiss from Alexander and so they did one by one in order. But when the turn to drink came to Callisthenes, he rose up, drank from the cup, approached and made to kiss Alexander without having prostrated himself. Alexander at the moment was talking to Hephaestion and therefore was not attending to see whether the ceremony of prostration was duly carried out by Callisthenes. But Demetrius son of Pythonax, one of the Companions, as Callisthenes approached to kiss Alexander remarked that he was coming without having prostrated himself. Alexander did not permit Callisthenes therefore to kiss him, and Callisthenes remarked, "I shall go off short of a kiss."

All this, as far as it bears on the arrogance of Alexander at the time and the rudeness of Callisthenes, I in no sort of way approve. It seems to me enough that a man as far as himself is concerned should behave in a seemly way and that when a man has consented to serve a king he should exalt the King's doings in every possible way. Rightly therefore, in my judgment, was Alexander angry with Callisthenes both for his unseasonable freedom of speech and for his foolish arrogance. I gather that this is why people easily credit the detractors of Callisthenes who suggest that he had a part in the plot laid against Alexander by his squires; some even say that Callisthenes incited them to the plot. The story of the plot is as follows.

XIII. Philip had long ago ordained that the sons of Macedonian potentates who had reached adolescence should be attached to the service of the King, and

βασιλέως, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον διαιτᾶσθαι τοῦ σώματος βασιλικῶς βασιλεῖ καὶ στρατιώτου φιλοπόνου τούτου ἀντιστάντα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξελαύνειν βασιλικῶς τοὺς ἵππους παρὰ τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἀγῶνα προτίθεται καὶ καὶ βαλὼν αὐτὸς βασιλέα τὸν Περσῶν τρόπον καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ θηρᾶ ἐξ ἵππου μετὰ βασιλικῆς στολῆς θεραπεύειν.

3 Τούτου καὶ Ἑφαιστίωνα δὲ Σωκλείδου μὲν υἱὸν, φιλοσοφίᾳ δὲ εἶναι προσήκοντα τοῦ τρόπου καὶ Καλλισθένην θεραπεύειν ἐπὶ τούτῳ. Τινὲς τῶν τοῦ λόγου μετέχειν ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ προσφιλονεικοῦντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ ἴσῃ βαίνειν τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τίνι Βίνδης Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μετεμέλετο ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ σκληρὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ τῷ λαβεῖν ἐπιστῆσαι τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς, καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτὸν ἀφεῖλετο.

3 Τούτου τὸν Ἑφαιστίωνα ἀλλοτριοῦντα τῇ ὕβρει φοβεῖται μὴ Σωκράτην τὸν Λαμίου φιλιστὴν τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐρώμενον ὄντα ὅτι οὐ βίαιον οἱ ἐστὶ μὴ τιμωρήσασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον τὴν ὕβριν, καὶ τὸν Σωκράτην οὐ χαλεπὸν σύμπειθα μετασχεῖν
4 τοῦ ἔργου ἅτε ἡλικιώτην. Τῶν τούτου δὲ αὖ πειθόντων Ἀντίπατρον τε τὸν Ἰολαϊδείου τοῦ Σίμμα στρατηγοῦντα καὶ Ἐπίκριτον τὸν Ἄμμωνος καὶ Ἀντίοχον τὸν Φιλοκράτους καὶ Φίλιππον τὸν Καρδίου τὸν Θρᾷκα. Ὧν αὖθις τεκμήριον δὲ Ἀντίπατρον ἡ μετέπειτα φυλακὴ, ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ξυγκείμενον ὅπως ἀποκτείνωσι Ἀλέξανδρον, σύμμαχον ἀντιφανέντα.

5 Ἐπιμένοντα δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ αὐτόματον λέοντος ἅτε ὑφορᾶσθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀριστοτέλους δὲ τοῦ

besides general attendance on his person, the duty of guarding him when asleep had been entrusted to them. Again, whenever the king rode out they received the horses from the grooms and led them up, assisted the king to mount in Persian fashion, and were his companions in the ritual of the chase. Among them was one Hermolaus a son of Sopolis; he was reputed to be a zealous student of philosophy and to be a follower of Callisthenes to this end. About him there is a story that once in a hunt a wild boar charged Alexander and that Hermolaus hastened to pierce the boar, which indeed fell from the stroke, but Alexander, too late for his chance, was angry with Hermolaus and in his passion ordered him to be whipped in the presence of his fellow pages, and took his horse from him.

This Hermolaus, feeling bitterly the degradation, told Sostratus son of Amyntas his comrade and fast friend that he found life no longer worth living until he had avenged himself on Alexander for this injustice. Sostratus for his part was easily enough, by reason of his infatuation, persuaded to join in the business. Then the two won over Antipater son of Asclepiodorus, who had been satrap of Syria, Epimenes son of Arseus, Antiochus son of Theocritus, and Philotas son of Carsis the Thracian. So when the turn of keeping guard by night fell to Antipater it was resolved to assassinate Alexander by attacking him in his sleep.

It so fell out that Alexander not from any outside suggestion, as some say, kept on drinking till daylight.

δὲ ἀναγραψε· Σύραν γυναῖκα ἐφοιτᾶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, κατοχον τε τοῦ θείου γιγνομένην· καὶ ταύτην τὰ μὲν πρωτον γελασαι εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτον· ὡς δὲ τὰ παντα ἐν τῇ κατοχῇ ἀληθεύουσα ἐφαίνετο, οὐκέτι ἀμελεῖσθαι ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου· ἀλλ' εἶναι γάρ τῇ Σύρᾳ πρόσοδον πρὸς τον βασιλέα καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ καθεύδοντι πολλακις ἠδη ἐπιστῆναι.
6 Καὶ δὴ καὶ τοτε ἀπαλλασσομένου ἐκ τοῦ ποτου, κατεχομένην ἐκ τοῦ θείου ἐντυχειν, καὶ δεῖσθαι ἐπανελθοντα πιειν ὅλην τὴν νυκτα· καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον θεῖόν τι εἶναι νομισαντα ἐπανελθεῖν τε καὶ πιειν, καὶ οὕτω τοις παισι διαπεσειν τὸ ἔργον.
7 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἐπιμένης ὁ Ἀρσάμου τῶν μετεχοντων τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς φράζει τὴν πραξιν Χαρικλεῖ τῷ Μενάνδρου, ἑραστῇ ἑαυτοῦ γεγονοτι· Χαρικλῆς δὲ φράζει Εὐρυλόχῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Ἐπιμένους. Καὶ ὁ Εὐρυλοχος ἐλθων ἐπι τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λαγου τῷ σωματοφυλακι καταλεγει ἅπαν τὸ πραγμα· ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔφρασε. Καὶ ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρος ξυλλαβεῖν κελευει ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα εἶπεν ὁ Εὐρυλοχος· καὶ αὐτοὶ στρεβλούμενοι σφων τε αὐτων κατεῖπον τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ τινας καὶ ἄλλους ὠνόμασαν.

XIV Ἀριστοβουλος μὲν λεγει ὅτι καὶ Καλλισθένην ἐπᾶραι σφᾶς ἔφασαν ἐς τὸ τολμημα· καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὡσαυτως λεγει. Οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὐ ταυτὴ λεγουσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μίσος γάρ τὸ ἦδη ὂν πρὸς Καλλισθένην ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἑρμόλαος ἐν τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδειος ἦν τῷ

Aristobulus, however, says that a Syrian woman with a spirit of divination followed Alexander, and that she was at first a laughing-stock both to Alexander and his friends, but when everything in her divination seemed to come true, Alexander no longer made light of her, but the Syrian had access to the king day and night and often watched over him as he slept. On this occasion then when Alexander rose from his potations she met him, while under the spell of her inspiration, and begged him to return and continue drinking all night long. Alexander therefore, believing this warning to be prophetic, returned and continued, and so the plot of the squires came to nothing.

Next day, however, Epimenes son of Arseus, one of the conspirators, told Charicles son of Menander, whose favourite he was, of the plot, Charicles told Eurylochus brother of Epimenes, and Eurylochus entered Alexander's tent, and revealed to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus the whole affair, on which Alexander caused all whose names Eurylochus had given to be arrested, and they in turn being put to the question revealed both their own plot and implicated others also.

XIV Aristobulus indeed declares that they said that it was Callisthenes who had urged them to the plot; and Ptolemaeus agrees. But most authorities do not say so, but only that by reason of Alexander's dislike for Callisthenes and because Hermolaus was

Καλλισθένει, οὐ χαλεπὸν συνιδεῖν τὰ γεγραμμένα ὑπὲρ Καλλισθένους Ἀλεξάνδρου. Ἤδη δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν ἀπογράφων τὸν Ἐπίκλειον προσγράφουσι δὴ τοῦ Μακεδόνος ὀνόματος τὸ σαφὲς ἐκεῖνος (καὶ γὰρ καὶ εἶναι σὺν ἐλευθέρῳ αὐτὸν φασὶ τοῦ ἔθνους τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου), ἅτε καταλειφθέντα τε τῇ φίλῃ καὶ ἐπὶ λόγου τελευτῆσαι καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Πορθμιανοῦ δὴ ὀνομαστοτέρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τότε ἀνεβλάστησεν καὶ τὸν Κλείτου δὲ μὴ ἀνομάσαι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Μόλωνος καὶ τὸν προσαγορεύσαι τὸν βουλόμενον εἶναι αὐτὸν ἀπεικάσαι καὶ τοῦτο τε καὶ ὕπνους τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου ταῦτα οἱ φεύγοντα δὴ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι ἐβούλοντο αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Μακεδόνας. Τούτων μὲν δὴ αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ξυλληφθέντας οὐ ἐλευθῶσαι ὧν τῶν παρόντων Καλλισθένης δὲ Ἀριστοτέλει μὲν λόγοι διδασκόντων τὸ πάλαι ξυνῆν ἀποθανεῖν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἔφασκε τοῦτο τελευτήσειν. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου στρεβλωθέντα καὶ ἀκρωμάτῳ ἀποθανεῖν. Οὕτως οὖν οἱ πᾶσι τιστὰ δὴ τὰ ἀφηγεῖσθαι καὶ ξυγγράψασθαι δὲ περὶ τοῦτο Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπὲρ τῶν γραμμάτων τε καὶ οὐ καθεστῶτα σφᾶς ὅπως ἐν ἀρχῇ ξυμφορὰ ἀπογράψαι. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὑπὲρ τούτων αὐτῶν ἄλλοι ἄλλως ἀφηγήσαντο· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ ταῦτα ἀπειρήσεται ἐστὶν ἀκριβέστερα μοι. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἱ πολλῷ ὕστερον γραφέντα ἐγὼ ἐν τοιούτοις ἀμφὶ Κλείτου ξυνέγραψα. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀπογράψαι, τοῦτος μᾶλλον τι φασὶν ἀποκλαῦσαι ἢ τὸν ἀφηγήσασθαι.

λλ Παρ Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐδίδου Σενθῆν τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐμπορίας τραπέζαν ξυν

to closest contact with Callisthenes, Alexander easily believed the worst story about Callisthenes. Some others have even written that Hermolaus was summoned before the Macedonians and confessed that he had conspired, for it was no longer possible for a free man to endure the arrogance of Alexander; and recounted his whole story, how Philotas had been unjustly put to death, and the still more illegal execution of his father Parmenio and of the others who suffered at the same time, the murder of Cleitus in a drunken party, the wearing of Median garb, the proskynesis planned and not yet renounced, and Alexander's drinkings and heavy slumbers; unable to bear these, he asserted that he had desired to free both himself and the rest of the Macedonians. He was himself and those arrested with him were stoned to death by those present at the conference. As for Callisthenes, Aristobulus says that he was bound with fetters and led about with the army, but at length died of sickness. But Ptolemy son of Lagus says that he was tortured and then put to death by hanging. Thus not even those whose narratives are quite trustworthy and who actually accompanied Alexander at that time agree in their accounts of notorious events of which they had full knowledge. In many other points different writers have given different accounts about these very events; what I have written is sufficient. Events which took place long afterwards I have related as part of the story of Cleitus, regarding it as most akin to Cleitus' story for the purpose of narrative.

XV. Now a second embassy came to Alexander from the European Scythians, together with the

τοὺς ἑπομένους ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ Σκύθας ἐστάλκει
Ἀ[illegible] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Μασσαγέται τοῦ Σκύθου ἦσαν
οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀ[illegible] Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατεύματος τετάχατο
4 ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀντιπέρας ἀκτῆς. Ἦν
δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν Μασσαγετῶν στρατὸς τοιόσδε τις
οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιῶται Σκύθας καὶ
ἵππον ἔβλεπον Ἀλεξάνδρου πολὺ τοῦ Μασσαγετῶν
τοῦ Σκύθου ἐπὶ μακρότερα πως τῶν ἐν Σκύθαις
καὶ τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ πολὺ
τοιοῦτον Σκύθαις ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τοῦ
5 ξυνόντων φίλοις τε καὶ ξυμμάχοις. Ἐν δὲ τῷ
ξυνόντι Σκύθαι Μασσαγέται τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου
αὐτὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ τῶν Σκύθαις χωρὶς
καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλα ξυνόντα αὐτὰ τοῦ γένους τοῦ
Σκύθου, τοῦτον τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου
στρατεύματος τοῦ ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου. Ἦλθε δὲ καὶ
αὐτὸς ἐφόδου ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
6 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου. Ἐφόδου
δὲ τοῦτον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ Φαλαικοῦ
ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου Σκύθαις ἐπὶ τοῦτο χωρὶς καὶ
στρατοῦ καὶ. Ἐφόδου δὲ ὁ Φαλαικοῦ ἐπὶ
φόβου τοῦ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ
Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ στρατοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου
τοῦ καὶ. Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ
ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ
7 Ἰσοι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ Σκύθου φόβοι φίλοι
Φαλαικοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ. Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ
τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ
Σκύθου καὶ Φαλαικοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ καὶ
φ καὶ καὶ ξυμμάχου πρὸς αὐτὸν ξυνθήκαις
χρῶ

envoys whom he himself had sent to Sythia. For the king of the Scythians at the time when these had been sent by Alexander had died, and his son was now King. The purpose of the embassy was to express the readiness of the Scythians to do whatever Alexander commanded, and they brought gifts for Alexander from the king of Scythia such as are greatly esteemed of Scythians, and they said also that the king wished to give to Alexander his daughter in wife to whom he should send envoys with Alexander, if he wished. Alexander should not care to marry the Scythian princess, yet he was desirous to give the daughters of the governors of the Persians to the chief men of the Scythians, to the end that the bond of friendship between Scythia and the realm of Alexander's dominion might be established more firmly. Now there came also to Alexander at the same time also Pharasmanes the king of the Chorasmi and with fifteen hundred horsemen. Pharasmanes said that he lived on the borders of the Scythians and of the Amazon women, and should Alexander desire to invade Scythia and the territory of the Amazons and subdue the women who have their dwelling near the Thermodon, he promised to act as guide and to provide all necessaries for the expeditionary force.

Alexander therefore replied courteously to the Scythian envoys and sent gifts to the monarch. He had, he said, no desire at present to marry with Scythia; he then thanked Pharasmanes and made friendship and alliance with him, but said that it was

αὐτῷ μὲν τότε οὐκ ἔφη ἐς καιρὸν εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πόντου· Ἀρταξάτῃ δὲ τῷ Ἀρμενίων, ὅτῳ τὰ Βαστρικὰ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐτετάρακτο,[1] καὶ ἄλλοι πρόσχωροι τούτῳ σατράπαι ξυνῆσαν Φαρασμάνης ἀπέστη· ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τὰ αὐτοῦ. Λύτῳ δὲ τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνη ἐν τῷ τότε μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦτον γὰρ καταστρεψάμενος Πῶρον ἐν ὁδῷ ἔσχεν τὴν Ἀσσακανῶν ὁμορήσῃ δὲ τῇ Ἀσσακανῶν ἐπελαύνει ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπεύθετο δὲ ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου τε καὶ τῆς Προποντίδος ξὺν τῷ δεινῷ πολὺ τῷ τε πεζικῷ καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ ὅλῳ τῶν Περσῶν· καὶ ἐς τὸ τότε μέλλοι ἀποθεσθαι Φαρασμάνην ἐπὶ τὴν παραυτίκα στρατιάν.

7 Λύτῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὄξον τὸν ποταμὸν ἦλθε καὶ ἐς τὴν Σογδιανὴν προχωροῦντι ἐπύθοντο ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν Σογδιανῶν ἐς τὰ ὀρύγματα ξυμπεφευγότες ἠγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ ἐθελοντὶ καταδουλοῦσθαι τὸν ἑαυτῶν ὅσοι αὐτῶν δὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπέστησαν. Σωφυτίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ὄξῳ, οὐ μακρὰν τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πηγὴ ὕδατος καὶ ἄλλη ἐλαίου
8 πηγὴ ἐλαίου πλείονος αὐτῆς ἀνίσχει. Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος τῷ λόγῳ τῷ σωματοφυλακεῖ ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ πηγῇ τῇ τοῦ ἐλαίου Πτολεμαῖος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφίσταται. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἔθιον ἐπὶ τῷ φυσήματι ὅσα οἱ μαντεῖς ἐξηγοῦντο. Ἀριστοβούλου δὲ τούτων εἶναι σημεῖον τοῦ ἐλαίου τῆς πηγῆς ἔφασαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τοῦτο σημαίνει.

XVI Διαβὰς οὖν ξὺν μέρει τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐς τὴν Σογδιανήν, Πολυσπερχοντα δὲ καὶ Ἄτταλον

[1] συνέτασσε from A Rome, suggesting to add συνῆν.

not just then convenient to make an expedition to Pontus. But he commended Pharasmanes to Artabazus the Persian, to whom Alexander had entrusted affairs in Bactria, and to all the other neighbouring satraps, and he dismissed him to his own home. He said that for the time being he had India in contemplation, for by subduing India he would then have all Asia, but when he was master of Asia he would return to Greece, and thence in the direction of the Hellespont and the Propontis would make an expedition into Pontus with all his forces, navy and infantry alike. Pharasmanes must therefore reserve his promises which he now made to that future time.

He himself returned now to the river Oxus, and determined to proceed to Sogdiana, since it was reported that many of the Sogdianians had taken refuge in their forts and would not obey the satrap set over them by Alexander. Now while he was encamped on the river Oxus, not far from the tent of Alexander himself a spring of water, and another of oil near it, came up from the ground. And when this marvel was related to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus of the royal bodyguard, he told Alexander, and Alexander sacrificed, on account of this portent, what the soothsayers recommended. Aristander said that the spring of oil was a sign of labours to come, but that it portended victory after the labours.

XVI So when he had passed with part of his force into Sogdiana, leaving behind Polysperchon and

καὶ Γαυγάμηλα καὶ Μαλλοῦνται αὐτοῦ δὲ Βασσάρου
πολεμοῦντος τούτοις μὲν παραινέσαι τὰ τε
χωρία ἃ φυλάσσειν ἔχει καὶ μὴ τὸ σύνταγμα
ἐς τάξιν διαλύειν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀφιστάναι
2 αὐτοὺς ἐξαίφνης· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὸν πόνον μᾶλλον ἐκ
τῶν ἔργων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος
ἀφικομένου ἄγγελον παρὰ τὸν Πρόκοπιν τὸν Ἀγίνου τοῦ
στρατοφύλακα τοῦ τῶν ἐς τὸ Πεδιάδιον ἐπὶ
τοῦτο τὸ ποταμοῦ τάξεως Κοίρανον καὶ Ἀστα-
βᾶζον ἐπιόντα αὐτοῦ τοῦ δὲ τεκμήρια μὲ μὴ
ἀπολιπεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπιόντα τοῦ χωμάτου καὶ τὸν Μαλ-
3 λοῦντα. Καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐπιόντες τοῦ χώματος
ἐπειδὴ τοῦ μὲν τύπου τοῦ τε τῶν ἐπιόντων
ξυνεφέροντο ἤδη ἐξαίφνης τοῦ δὲ καὶ
ἀπολιπεῖν τοῦτο οὐκέτι οἷοί τε ἦσαν ἀπολαμβά-
νοντες. Ὡς δὲ ξυνέπεσεν αὐτοῖς ἡ δίωξις ἐπὶ
βουνὸν τινα Σανδράκαν τὸν χῶμα τοῦ πολίσ-
ματος ἀφίεσαν Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν τοῦτον
καὶ τὰ ἐν Σανδράκαις πολεμίων ἐπικρατεῖν Κοίρανον
δὲ καὶ Ἀστάβαζον καὶ τὰ Σανδρὰ ὅτι τε Σανδρὰ
ἀποστάντα Σωπολαίοις αὐτὸν ἐξεπολιόρκησεν
αὐτοὺς δὲ ξὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὸν
Σανδράκην καὶ ἅτε πρὸς τοῦ ἀφίστασθαι ἀπὸ σφῶν
χαλεπῶς τοῦτο ἔχοντας ἰέναι.

4 Τὸν τοίνυν Δημοσθένη ἐπὶ τοῦτον Σανδράκην
τε καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Σανδράκην τινὰς φυλάκων τε
τῶν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Μαλλοῦντος καλουμένῳ τῷ
χώματι ξυνεφόρων ξυναγαγόντα τῶν Μαλ-
λοῦντος ἐπιόντας ἐξάγειν αὐτούς, ἀφικομένου τινὰ τὴ
5 φυλακὴν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βασσάρου. Καὶ τῷ
τε φυλακῷ αὐτῶν πολεμίων προσβαλόντων
ἀντισχεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ φυλακῷ

Attalus and Gorgias and Meleager there in Bactria, he bade them keep good watch over the country so that the tribesmen in those parts might not give trouble, and to destroy such as had already revolted; then he himself divided the force with him into five parts, and appointed Hephaestion to command one, Ptolemaeus the son of Lagus, his personal guard, another, over the third he set Perdiccas, and the fourth brigade was led by Coenus and Artabazus, and the fifth he took himself and invaded the district towards Maracanda. The others also advanced as they could, and stormed such as had taken refuge in the forts, and took over others who came and offered themselves in surrender. But when his whole force, having traversed the greater part of Sogdiana, arrived at Maracanda, he sent Hephaestion to plant settlements in the cities of Sogdiana, and Coenus and Artabazus in the direction of Scythia, since news came that Spitamenes had taken refuge there, and himself with the rest of the troops went on to such part of Sogdiana as was still held by the rebels, and subdued it without trouble.

While Alexander was busied about this, Spitamenes and some followers, fugitives from Sogdiana, had fled for refuge to the part of the Scythians called the Massagetae, there they collected six hundred horsemen of the Massagetae and arrived at one of the forts in the Bactrian region. Attacking the commandant of the garrison, who suspected no enemy action, and

ἔχουσι τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας διαθέσεως, τοῦ φρονήματος δὲ οὐδενὸς ἐν φιλίᾳ εἶχον. Ἔφασαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς φύλακας τῶν ἀποσκευῶν τῷ καταπτῆναι ἐς τοὺς ἵππους ἐπιτηδείους Λαμψακηνοὺς πολλαπλασίους, τῷ μὲν πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ὑπερφέρειν, ἅτε δὲ πολλοὺς πεφοβῆσθαι φάσκοντες.

6 Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τοὺς Λαμψακηνοὺς ταῦτα ἐπαλλάξαντες τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀνδρῶν τε πολλοὶ καὶ ξὺν τούτοις Πείθων ὁ Σανδοκέους καὶ τῶν βασιλέως δορυφόρων τῶν τε Λαμψακηνῶν τετρακόσιοι, καὶ Ἄμαστρις ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ὅτου μὲ ἐθάμβησεν τῶν Σανδάκου τὸν ἀποκλεισμὸν δόντα τὰ δι' ἐμοῦ πάντα ἀπερισκέπτως ἐκ τοῦ ἀφόρου καὶ τῶν ἵππων (ἐπιτηδείων) ξυνεπιστάντες τοῦτο τὸ μισθοφορικὸν ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἐπιόντες οἱ ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν Λαμψακηνῶν ἐπιτεταγμένοι ἄνδρες καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων τινὲς τῶν βασιλέως ἐκπεφοβημένοι δὴ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας. Καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ προσβολῇ οὐκέτι ὑπεστρέφοντο τοὺς Σανδάκου ἀντιτασσόντων τῶν τε λίθων ξυμπεσόντων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀκοντίων τῶν λίθων τὸν ἀκοντισμὸν ἀντεπιόντων. Ἐπαιανίσαντες δὲ οἱ τῶν ἀκοντίων ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐξηντληκότες, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἦσαν Σανδάκου καὶ τῶν Σανδάκου τῶν μὲν ἔτι καὶ ἀναπαλαιόντων ἔτι, τῶν δὲ μισθοφορικῶν ἵππων ἐξαναστάντων καὶ ἀμυνομένων ὁ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀνεβήσετο, οἱ μὲν ἀθρόοι ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐπεφύγασιν. Πείθων δὲ τραπόμενος ξὺν Λαμψακηνοῖς πρὸς τῶν Σανδάκου.

λ\ΙΙ Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Κρατερῷ ἐξηγγέλθη, ἔφευγε δὲ ἤδη τοὺς Μασσαγέτας ἐλαύνων. Οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἐπύθοντο ἐλαύνοντα ἐπὶ σφᾶς Κρα-

the garrison with him, they destroyed the soldiers and kept the commandant in custody. They themselves then, after capturing this stronghold, feeling encouraged, approached Zariaspa a few days later, and though they decided not to assault the city, they surrounded and drove off much booty.

In the city of Zariaspa were some of the Companions' cavalry, left there on account of ill-health, and with them Peithon son of Sosicles, set over the general attendance on the King, and Aristonicus the harpist. These learning of the Scythian raid, and being now recovered, and able to bear arms and mount on horseback, assembled the mercenary cavalry up to the number of eighty, who had been left behind to garrison Zariaspa, and some also of the King's squires, and made an attack on the Massagetae. At the first charge, falling on the Scythians when they suspected nothing, they robbed them of their entire plunder, and slew a good number of those who were driving it off. Then, however, when they were returning in some disorder, with no one in command, Spitamenes and the Scythians caught them in an ambush, where they lost some of the Companions, and sixty of the mercenary cavalry. Aristonicus, too the harpist perished there, having fought not as a harpist might, but as a good man and true. Peithon was wounded and captured by the Scythians.

XVII. When this was reported to Craterus, he hurried at all speed to the Massagetae, and when they learned that Craterus was approaching them,

τεσσαρ. Φεύγων ἐπὶ κρατος ὡς ἐς τὴν ἐρήμην. Καὶ Κρατερος ἑχομενος αὐτῶν αὐτοὶς τε ἐκείνοις περιπιπτει οὐ πορρω τῆς ἐρημου καὶ ἄλλοις
2 ἱππεῦσι Μασσαγετῶν ὑπερ τους χιλιους. Καὶ μαχη γιγνεται των [τε, Μακεδονων καὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν κρατερα καὶ ἐρωων οι Μακεδονες. Των δὲ Σκυθῶν ἀπεθανον μὲν ἑκατον καὶ τεττηκοντα ἱππεῖς οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐς την ἐρημην διεσωθησαν, ὁτι ἀνδρων ἦν προσωτερω τοῖς Μακεδόσι διώκειν.
3 Καὶ ἐν τουτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀρταβαζον μὲν τῆς σατραπειας τῆς Βακτριων ἀπαλλαττει δεηθέντα διὰ γῆρας, Ἀμυντας δὲ τον Νικολαου σατραπην ἀντ αὐτοῦ καθιστησι. Κοῖνον δὲ ἀπολειπει αὐτοῦ την τε αὐτου ταξιν καὶ τὴν Μελεαγρου ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν ἑταιρων ἱππεων ἐς τετρακοσιους καὶ τους ἱππακοντιστας παντας καὶ των Βακτριων τε καὶ Σογδιανῶν καὶ ὁσοι ἄλλοι μετα Ἀμυντου ἐταχθησαν, προσταξας ἕπεσθαι ἀκουειν Κοινου καὶ διαχειμαζειν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ, τῆς τε χωρας ἕνεκα της φυλακῆς καὶ εἴ πη[1] ἄρα Σπιταμενης περιφερομενος κατὰ τον χειμῶνα ἐπεδρευσαντας ξυλλαβειν.
4 Σπιταμενης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφ αὐτον ὡς φρουραὶ τε παντα κατειλημμενα ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν Μακεδονων καὶ σφισιν ἄπορα παντα τὰ τῆς φυγῆς ἐγιγνετο, ὡς ἐπι Κοινον τε καὶ την ξιν τουτῳ στρατιαν ἐτραποντο, ὡς ταυτη μάλλον τι ἀξιομαχοι ἐσομενοι. Ἀφικομενοι δὲ ἐς Βαγας, χωριον της Σογδιανῆς ἐχυρον, ἐν μεθορίῳ της

[1] Polak adds εἴ τι εἴη. Schmieder ἐνεδρεύσαντας ξυλλαβεῖν. Neither seems necessary

they fled hastily into the desert. Then Craterus pressing upon them fell in with them not far from the desert and with other Massagetaean horsemen, over a thousand in number. A severe battle took place between the Macedonians and the Scythians, and the Macedonians had the better of it. Of the Scythians a hundred and fifty horsemen perished but the rest easily got away into the desert, since it was impracticable for the Macedonians to pursue further.

Meanwhile Alexander had permitted Artabazus the satrap of Bactria, at his request, on account of old age, to resign his satrapy, and now appointed Amyntas son of Nicolaus in his place. Coenus he left there with his own brigade and Meleager's, and up to four hundred of the Companions cavalry, all the mounted javelin-men, and of the Bactrians and Sogdianians such as were attached to Amyntas, commanding them all to take their orders from Coenus, and to go into winter quarters there in Sogdiana, partly to keep an eye on this region and partly to try to ambush and capture Spitamenes, should he come raiding in that direction in the winter.

But Spitamenes and his troops finding every place occupied by Macedonian garrisons and no likelihood of escape anywhere for themselves, turned towards Coenus and his troops, thinking that in that direction they would make a better fight of it. Arriving at Bagae, a stronghold of Sogdiana, lying

τε Σατράπου τῆδε καὶ τὴν Μακεδονικὴν Σατράπου
φυλακὴν. ἀπαντήσασι δὲ χιλίοις τοῖς Σατ-
βοῦσι τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις ἐπιτάξαι ἕπεσθαι
δ τοῦ Σατράπου. Ὁ δὲ Σατρ. αὐτὸς ἀπῆρε
τε πολλὰ ἔχοντας καὶ ἅμα ὅτι αὐτὸς πολὺς
αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐπεστράτευε, καὶ διηρπασμένα
πάντα τὰ φίλια τοῖς χιλίοις ἀποτεθῆναι
ἐκεῖ δὲ ἄλλοι καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ. Ὁ δὲ
Κῦρος τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τοξεύοντες
τοὺς ἐν Σπιτάμενι ἐπῆσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ
μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς. Καὶ φεύγουσι αὐτοῖς μάχη
6 κρατεῖται καὶ πίπτουσι οἱ Μακεδόνες. ὅσοι τε
μὲν Σκυθῶν ἐπῆσαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας
ἔφευγον ἐς τὴν μάχην τὴν δὲ ἐς Κῦρον ἐπῆσαν
μὲν οὐ πολλοί, συχνοὶ δὲ ἐπέπτωσαν. Οἱ
τε οὖν Σκυθῶν οἱ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας ἐς
Σπιτάμενι καὶ τοὺς Βακτρίους οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνελόν-
τουσι ἐν τῇ φυγῇ Σπιτάμενι καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται
παρὰ Κῦρον παρηλθόν αὐτοὺς Κῦρος.
7 οἱ τε Μακεδόνες οἱ Σκύθας ἐπῆσαν ἐπιτρέψαντες
τὰ μὲν ἐπιτήδεια τῶν ξυναποστατῶν αὐτοῖς
Βακτρίων τε καὶ Σκυθῶν ἐλαμβανον αὐτοὶ
δὲ ἐς Σπιτάμενι ἐς τὸν ἵππον ἐβάδιζον. Οἱ
δὲ ἱππεῖς αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν ἀμφὶ δὲ
ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἐλαύνοντα ἀποτεμόντες τοὺς Σκυθῶ-
νους τοῦ αὐτοῦ παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον παρεσκευά-
σαντο, οἱ ἀποστρεψάντες αὐτὸ αὐτὸν τοῦτο
τῷ ἔργῳ.

Α. ΙΙ. Καὶ ὁ τοῦτο Κῦρος τε ὁ Καμβύσου
παῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπῆν γένος καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ
Κλεῖτόν τε καὶ Φρατάφερνα τὸν τοῦ Πάρ-
θυαίου στρατηγὸν καὶ Στασάνορα τὸν Ἀραίου, τὸν

between the land of Sogdiana and that of the Massagetaean Scythians they easily induced up to three thousand horsemen of the Scythians to join with them in a raid on Sogdiana. Now these Scythians are in great poverty and also, since they have no cities and no settled habitations, so that they have no fear for their homes, they are easy to persuade to take part in any war which may offer, and when Coenus and his force learned that the cavalry with Spitamenes was approaching they with their troops went to meet them. There was a severe battle in which the Macedonians had the upper hand, so that of the tribesmen's cavalry over eight hundred fell in the battle, but of Coenus' troops about twenty-five horsemen and twelve foot-soldiers. So the Sogdianians still left with Spitamenes and the greater number of the Bactrians deserted Spitamenes during the flight and came to Coenus and surrendered themselves to him. The Massagetaean Scythians after this disaster plundered the baggage trains of the Bactrians and Sogdianians who had fought along with them, and themselves with Spitamenes fled to the desert. When they learnt that Alexander was already on the move and marching towards the desert, they cut off Spitamenes' head and sent it to Alexander, to divert him, by this action, from themselves.

XVIII. Meantime Coenus and Craterus with his men had returned to Alexander at Nautaca, and Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea, with his troops, and Stasanor satrap of Areia, after accom-

προτιμήσαι αφίσι πάντων δσα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου
2 ἐγένετο. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ περὶ λόγου ποιούμενος καὶ
πάνυ τὴν στρατιὰν ὀτιοῦν ἀκριβὲς ἦν τοῦ
χειμῶνος. Φραταφέρνην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἐς
Μαρδοὺς καὶ Ταπούρους· Αὐτοφραδάτην δὲ κα-
ταμένειν τοῦ καύματος, ὅτι πολλαχοῦ ἦν μετ-
εωρότερος ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας γιγνόμενος αὐχμὸν ἔνεκα
3 ἀκλιμάτιστος. Στασάνορα δὲ ἐς Δαρείους καταμένειν
ἔπεμψεν· ἐς Ἀρείους δὲ Ἀρτάβαζον αὖθις κατα-
μένειν καὶ τοῦ ὀπώρου καὶ τοῦ ἐς τὴν Μηδίαν· ὅτι Ὀξυάρτης
ἀφεστήκεσαν αὐτοῦ ἐφασάν τε. Σταμένην δὲ αὖθις
Βαβυλῶνος στέλλει ὅτι Μαζαῖος ὁ Βαβυλωνίων
ἔπαρχος τετελευτήκεσαν αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο·
Σωπόλιν δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιδον καὶ Μενίδην δὲ
Μακεδόνων ἐκπέμπει, τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν δὲ
Μακεδόνων αὐτῷ ἀναξόντας·
4 Ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ἀποφαίνοντι πρὸς χώραν ἐπ'
ἄντην τὴν ἐς τὴν Σογδιάνην ἔστραται ἐς ἣν πολλοὶ
μὲν τῶν Σογδιανῶν ξυμπεφεύγεσαν αὐτῷ ἐξηγ-
γέλλετο καὶ ἡ Ὀξυάρτου δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἡφαίστιον
καὶ αἱ παῖδες ἀ· Ὀξυάρτου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ
τῆς ξυμπεφευγέναι ἐλέγοντο. Ὀξυάρτου δὲ τοῦ
ἐς τὰ πεδία τὰ ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἀναβάντος ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο ὑπὸ
Θεμίστου, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφεστήκει ἀπ' Ἀλε-
ξάνδρου. Ταῦτα γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόφασιν εἶχεν
ἀποκλῄσαντα ἐλθεῖν τῶν Σογδιανῶν τοὺς
5 πατρίοις ἐθέλουσιν. Ὡς δὲ ἐπολιόρκει τῷ
πέτρᾳ, κατέλαβε πάντη ἄπορον· ἐς γὰρ τὴν
προσβολὴν εἶχε τὸ ξυντεταμένον τοῦ
βαράθρου καὶ τὸ χρῆσθαι πολλαχοῦ καὶ χ ὡς
πολλὴ ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὴν τε προσβολὴν ἀπορωτέραν
εἶναι τοῖς Μακέδοσι καὶ ἅμα ἐν ἀφθόνῳ

plishing all that Alexander had commanded them. But Alexander, resting his force at Nautaca, since winter was at its depth, despatched Phrataphernes to the Marduans and Tapurians, to bring back the satrap Autophradates, because he had often hitherto been sent for by Alexander but had not obeyed the summons. Stasanor he sent to the Drangians as satrap, to the Medes Atropates, as satrap of Media, since he had heard that Oxodates had rebelled against himself. Stamenes he sent to Babylon, since Mazaeus the governor of Babylon was reported dead. Sopolis and Epocillus and Menidas he sent to Macedonia, to bring thence to him the army due from Macedonia.

With the first appearance of spring Alexander marched forward towards the Rock of Sogdiana, to which, as he was told, a good many of the Sogdianians had fled for refuge, and the wife of Oxyartes the Bactrian and his daughters were also reported to have taken refuge in this rock, Oxyartes having secretly sent them thither as to a place too strong to be captured, for he himself also had revolted from Alexander. Once this was taken it seemed that nothing would be left any longer for those Sogdianians who wished to rebel. But when they approached the rock, Alexander found it sheer on all sides against attack, and that the tribesmen had stored there provisions for a long siege; and deep snow having fallen made the approach more difficult for the Macedonians,

ἕδατος τοῦτ' βασιλεῦσιν ἐνῆγεν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς
6 προσβάλλειν ἔοικεν τῷ χωρίῳ. Καὶ γὰρ τι
καὶ ὑπερφυὲς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων λεχθὲν ἐς
φιλοτιμίαν ξὺν ὀργῇ ἐμβεβήκει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.
Προελθόντες γὰρ ἐς ξυμβάσεις καὶ προτεινο-
μένου αὐτοῖς ὅτι σφίσιν ὑπῆρξε τοῦ τὰ αὐτέρα
ἀπολιγώσαι παραδοῦναι τὸ χωρίον, οἱ δὲ σὺν
γέλωτι βαρβαρίζοντες ὤφθησαν εὐέλπιδες ζητεῖν
στρατιὰν Ἀλεξάνδρου, οἵτινες αὐτῷ ἐξαιρή-
σουσι τὸ ὄρος, ὡς τῶν γε ἄλλων ἀνθρωπίνων
7 οὐδεμιᾶς ὕβρεως αὐτοῖς εἶναι. Ἐνθὰ δὴ ἐκφρα-
γίζει Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ ἀναβάντι
δώσειν τάλαντα εἶναι τὸ γέρας δευτέρου δὲ ἐπὶ
τούτῳ τὰ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτῳ τὰ ἑφεξῆς, ὡς
τελευταίου εἶναι τῷ τελευταίῳ ἀναιθέντι τριακο-
σίους δαρεικοὺς τὰ γέρα. Καὶ ταῦτα τὰ
ἐπαθλα παρεῖχεν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον καὶ ἄλλους τοὺς
Μακεδόνας ὁρμήσειν.

XIX Ξυνταξάμενοι δὴ ἅμα πενταβάταις ἐν
ταῖς τελευταίαις αὐτῶν μοίραις τὸ τριακόσιοι τὸν ἀριθμόν, καὶ πασσάλους μικροὺς
εἰδόρυσαν, οἷς οἱ πένητες κατεπετήγνυσαν αἵτινες,
παρασκευασάντες, τοῦ κατεπήγνυσαν αἵτινες δὲ τε τὴν χεῖρα ἅπτω πεπηγυῖα φανείη καὶ εἴ πού
τι τῆς χώρας ἔρημον χιόνος ὑποφαίνοιτο, καὶ
τούτων κολλοὺς ἐκ λίθου ἰσχυροὺς ἐκόπτουν,
τὴν χιόνα προυχώσουν κατὰ τὸ ἀναπεπταμένον
8 τῆς πέτρας καὶ ταύτῃ ἀφυλακτοτάτου. Καὶ
τούτοις τοῖς πασσάλοις κατεπήγνυντο τοὺς
μὲν ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἅπερ διέφαινετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ
τῇ χιόνι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα συνθρυφθησομένῃ,
ἀνέλκειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ.

while it answered to the tribesmen abundant water. Yet even so Alexander decided to assault the position. For some arrogant insults of the tribesmen had stirred Alexander to angry resentment. Now when summoned to a parley, and receiving the offer that they would be allowed to go safe to their homes if they gave up the position, they with barbaric delight had let Alexander find a guard-worker to capture the height for him, since they cared for no other kind of men. Then Alexander proclaimed that the first to scale the height should have a first prize of twelve talents, the second, the second prize,[1] the third, the third prize, and the last prize for the last to reach the top was three hundred darics.[2] Eager as the Macedonians already were, the proclamation incited them even more.

XIX So then when all these had assembled who had practised rock-climbing in their previous sieges, up to the number of three hundred, and had got ready small iron pegs with which their tents were pegged down, in order to fix them into the snow, where it appeared frozen fast and also if any space bare of snow showed up and had bound their to strong linen ropes they set out at night to the part of the rock which was most sheer and so ungarded. These pegs they fixed some into the ground where it was visible and some into the snow where it seemed least likely to give way and fastened themselves one after another, up the face of the cliff

[1] That is, eleven talents, the third ten, and so on. The first twelve only got prizes.

[2] Three hundred gold darics made a talent.

Καὶ τούτων δὲ τριακοσίους μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει διεφθάρησαν, ὅσοι οὐδὲ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐς ταφὴν ἀνηκὰν ἐπέσχεσαν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη τῶν
3 χωρίων. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀναβάντες ὑπὸ τῶν δένδρων καὶ τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ ὄρους κατακλείοντες εἰσέβαλον αὐτοῖσιν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Μακεδόνων, αὐτοὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου παραγενόμενοι.
Πέμψας δὲ ἀγγέλους ἐκέλευσε τοὺς προφυλάσσοντας τῶν Βαρβάρων μὴ ἐκπολεμοῦν
4 αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ παραίνεσιν φέρειν ἐξιόντας γὰρ δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπέστεσθαι καὶ ἱκετεύειν αὐτὸν τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἄκρα καὶ ἅμα ἀπολιπόντας τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς κορυφῆς στρατιάν.
Οἱ δὲ Βαρβάροι ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς ἥψεως καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν εἶναι τῶν κατειληφότων τὰ ἄκρα καὶ περιεῖναι αὐτοὺς μένειν, ἐνόμισαν φέρε αὐτοὺς οὕτω πρὸς τὴν ἥψιν τῶν ὅλων ἀνδρῶν Μακεδόνων φοβῆσαι ἕνεκα. Ἦσαν δὲ ἄλλως τε πολλαὶ γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες ἀνηφθισμένοι καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Ὀξυάρτου
5 καὶ οἱ παῖδες. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὸν Ὀξυάρτου παῖδα πρεσβύτατον ὄντα γάμου. Ῥοξάνη ὀνομαζομένη δὲ καλλίστη τῶν Ἀσιανῶν γυναικῶν λεγομένη εἶναι ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατευσάντος κατὰ τὴν τῶν Δαρείου γυναῖκα. Καὶ ταύτην ἰδόντες Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἅμα ἄλλων αὐτὴν ἐραστῶν δὲ ὄντες ἐθελήσαι ὑβρίσαι καίπερ αἰχμαλώτου
6 οὔσης γυναικὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἀνήκεστον. Καὶ τοῦτο ἔτι Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ ἔργον σπουδὴν μᾶλλον τι ἢ μανίαν ἔσχεν. Καίτοιγε τὴν Δαρείου γυναῖκα, ἣ καλλίστη δὴ ἔλεγετο τῶν δὴ τὴν Λεὼ γυναῖκα ἢ τινα ἄλλην δὲ ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἢ κρατῆσαι αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ

φησι

Some thirty of them perished in the ascent, and their bodies were not even found for burial, having fallen in different places into the snow. The rest, however, reached the top about dawn, and seized the summit of the crag, and waved linen flags to the Macedonian camp, as Alexander had commanded them. Then Alexander sending a herald bade him shout to the advance guard of the tribesmen, bidding them delay no further but give themselves up forthwith, for he had found sure enough the winged men and the summit of their rock was already in their hands, and with that he pointed to the soldiers on the top.

The tribesmen were astounded at this miraculous sight, and suspecting that those who held the summit were more numerous than in reality, and fully armed, surrendered, so terrified were they at the sight of those few Macedonians. Wives and children of many of them were captured there, and also among these the wife and daughters of Oxyartes. Now there was a marriageable daughter of Oxyartes called Roxane,[1] and those who served with Alexander said that she was the loveliest woman in Asia next to Darius' wife. Alexander when he saw her fell in love with her, but captive though she was, and deep in love as he was, he would not offer any violence to her but deigned to marry her. This in Alexander I approve rather than blame. Yet for Darius' wife, who was said to be the most beautiful woman in Asia either he felt no love, or mastered himself, young though he

[1] The pronunciation is Rōxănē.

ἥκοντα, νίκας τε δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐν δεῇ τῆς εὐτυχίας, ὅτοτε οἱ ἀνθρωποι ὑβρίζουσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους τε καὶ ἐς τοὺς θεούς, συμφοραῖσιν τοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισι καὶ δόξῃ ἅμα σεμνῇ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἐφέπειν.

XX Καὶ τάδε καὶ λόγοι τοιοῦτοι, ἄλλοι μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἢ τρεῖς ἐν ὑπερβολῇ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ξυνῆλθον, ἀνεθέντα ἐλέῳ παρὰ Δαρείου τὸν εὐνοῦχον τὸν φύλακα αὐτῷ τῆς γυναικός. Καὶ τούτου ἐκ τῶν Δαρείου, πρώτη μὲν ἐπύθετο αἱ ζώσαι αὐτῷ αἱ παῖδες καὶ ἡ 2 γυνὴ τε καὶ ἡ μήτηρ. Ὡς δὲ ζώσας τε ἐπύθετο καὶ βασιλεύεται ὅτι κελεύοιτο καὶ ἡ θεράπαινα ὅτι ἀμφ' αὐτὰς ἔστιν ἥτινα καὶ ὅτι Δαρείου ἐθεραπεύοντο, τοῦ τε δὴ πυθέσθαι αἱ ἀμφοναὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ ὅτι. Ὡς δὲ ἀμφοναῖσιν ἐπύθετο, αὖθις ἐρέσθαι αὖτε Βιανὸν ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτῷ δὲ ὕβλιν ξυνεῖναι καὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἐπομόσαντα φάναι ὅτι, Ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτοι τοι μὲ ἀπέλιπεν ἔχει ἡ σὴ γυνή, καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστου 3 τέ ἐστι καὶ σωφρονεστάτου. Ἔνι τοσόνδε ἀπιστίαι Δαρείου ἐς τὸν σύμπαντα τοῦ χρόνου καὶ σύζυγα ὦδε· Ἀλλ' ἐμὲ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, ὅτῳ ἐντέτραπται σεμνὰ τὰ βασιλέων πρήγματα ἐν ἀνθρώποις, σὺ τὸν μάλιστα μὲν ἅμα φύλακα Περσέων τε καὶ Μήδων τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἄνευρε οὖν καὶ δίωκε· εἰ δὲ δὴ ἄνω σοκεῖ σοι βασιλεύειν τῆς Ἀσίης, σὺ δὲ μηδὲν ἄλλῳ δὸς ἢ μὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραδοῦναι τὸ ἐμὸν κράτος. Οὕτως οὐδὲ τρὸς τῶν τοιούτων ἅμα ἀμελείτως ἔσται σωφρονεῖν ἔργα.

4 Ὀξυάρτης δὲ ἀκούσας τὰς παῖδας ἀγομένας, ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὅτῳ Ῥωξάνης τῇ θυγατρὶ ὅτι ἐφέ-

was and in the very flush of his prosperity—a period when men act violently, but he pitied and spared her, both showing much restraint and also a proper ambition for good repute.

XX. There is indeed also a story that soon after the battle of Issus between Darius and Alexander, there escaped the chamberlain who had charge of Darius' wife and fled to Darius. When then Darius saw him, he first asked if his children and his wife and mother were alive. When he learnt that they were, and that they had the title of princesses, and that the court paid to them was the same as when he was on the throne, Darius next asked if his wife still remained true to him. Learning that she was, he enquired again whether any violence or insult had been offered to her by Alexander. The chamberlain with an oath replied, "O king, your wife is as you left her, and Alexander is the noblest and most self-controlled of men." At this, Darius stretched his hands to the heavens and prayed thus: "O Zeus the King, to whom it has been given to order the affairs of Kings among men, do thou guard safe for me, if so it may be, the sovereignty of Persians and Medes, as thou didst give it me, but if I be no longer King of Asia, do thou give my power to none but to Alexander. So much does he care for honourable conduct even towards enemies."

Now Oxyartes when he learnt that his daughters were captives, and also that Alexander cared for his

μῆλον αὐτῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. θαυμάσαι δέ φασιν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ ὃν δὲ τιμᾶν παρ' αὐτῷ, ἤτοι ἄκων σε ξυντυχία τοιαύτη.

XVI Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ξυγδιανὸν αὐτῷ διεστρατοπεδευκότος ἐχόμενα ἦν καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν τὰ Περσικά· τοιαῦτα δέ τινα ἐλέγετο καὶ τὸν Πέρσην τάφον τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει ἄλλον τινὰ εἶναι ἢ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσου. Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ Κύρειον ὁ τάφος· καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν αὐτὸς τε ὁ Χοιρίλος ξυμπεφώνηκε καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι. Ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἔνδον τοῦ τάφου οἰκοδόμημα σμικρόν, κλῖμαξ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ μικρὰ καὶ αὐτὴ στενὴ καὶ σανίδες ἐπῆσαν, οἷα δὴ παρὰ τοῦ φύσαντος τοῦ χώματος τεθειμένα· αἱ γάλακτος εἶναι καὶ μύλακες εἰργασταὶ καὶ καθ' ὁδὸν ἀνειλῆφθαι. Φασὶν δὲ κύκλῳ περιιέναι τὸν τάφον βάθρα, ἐφ' ὧν ἔστιν ὑποκαθῆσθαι στρατιὰν τῇ τάφῳ ἐμοίᾳ, πολὺ ὑποδεᾶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ φυλάγματος εἶναι χωρίον, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου ὁρμᾶσθαι ὑποστηρίγματα ἐς ὑποβολὴν τῶν στρατῶν.

3 Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἤκουσε τοῦ ξυγγενοῦς αὐτῷ τοῦτο· ἐπὶ τοῦτο χώματι βάθρα τε εἶναι καὶ ἐξωπισθεν εἶναι ἐς τοιοῦδε τοίχου τε καὶ ξυνοχῆς ὑποκειμένης. Τίμιον δὴ τὸν τάφον τοῦτον γὰρ καὶ ὑπεμφῆναι Πλάτας ἔφασαν ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ ὄρους) ἐλάσσους δὲ τούτου εἶναι· καὶ καθεῖσθαι εἶναι δὲ τὸν φύλακα τῇ στρατιᾷ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν 4 ἄλλως κατελθεῖν ἐς αὐτόν. Καὶ τὰς μὲν πύλας αὐτὰς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐφεστήκειν τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ ἄμφω τὸν στρατὸν ἔχειν τριζύγιον· τὰς δὲ τοίχους δὲ

[1] Παρανάσσα Α. Κύρου τοῦ τοῦτο ἐν Παρανάσσα IV iii. 1.

daughter Roxane took courage and came to Alexander and was held in honour by him, as was meet, after this happy event.

XXI. After conquering his work in Sogdiana and being now in possession of the rock Alexander advanced to the Paretacene; since many of the tribesmen were reported to be holding a strong place in the country of the Paretacene another rock named the Rock of Sisimithres and Sisimithres himself and many others of the authorities of the district had taken refuge there. The height of this rock was about twenty stades in every direction. It was sheer on all sides and there was only one way up to it, and this narrow and difficult; indeed it was despite the nature of the ground so that it was difficult even if no one presented to ascend even in single file. A deep ravine also protects the rock all round so that anyone desiring to bring up an army against the rock would be obliged beforehand to do much filling up of the ravine, so that he might start from level ground when bringing up his force to the assault.

Undeterred however Alexander took the work in hand. His intent was be that everything should be favourable to him and that everything should be captured and to such a height of boldness and success had he reached. Seeing the paths therefore there were many in number around the [illegible] he made ladders of them, so that the army might be able to descend into the ravine, for there was no other means of descent. During the days Alexander himself superintended the operations, keeping half the army at work, during the nights his bodyguards warded

μέρει οἱ σωματοφύλακες αὐτῷ εἱρηάζοντο Περδίκκας τε καὶ Λεοννάτος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου τῷ λοιπῷ μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς, τριχῇ διανενεμημένῳ ὅπερ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν νύκτα ἐπετέτακτο. Ἦν τοῦ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας οὐ πλέον ἢ περ εἴκοσι πήχεις καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ὀλίγῳ ἀποδέον, καίτοι ξυμπάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐργαζομένης· οὕτω τό τε χωρίον ἄπορον ἦν καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐν αὐτῷ χαλεπόν. Κατιόντες δ' ἐς τὴν φάραγγα πασσάλους κατεπήγνυον ἐς τὸ ὀξύτατον τῆς φάραγγος, διεχόντας ἀλλήλων δσον ξυμμέτρου πρὸς ἰσχύν τε καὶ ξυνοχὴν τῶν ἐπιβαλλομένων. Ἐπέβαλλον δὲ πλέγματα ἐκ λύγων εἰς γεφύρας μάλιστα ἰδέαι, καὶ ταῦτα ξυνδοῦντες χοῦν ἄνωθεν ἐπέφορουν, ὡς ἐξ ὁμαλοῦ γίγνεσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ τὴν πρόσοδον τὴν πρὸς τὴν πέτραν.

6 Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατεφρόνουν ὡς ἀπόρου παντὸς τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος· ὡς δὲ τοξεύματα ἤδη ἐς τὴν πέτραν ἐξικνοῦντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν ἄνωθεν ἐξεργεῖν τοὺς Μακεδόνας (πεποίητο γὰρ αὐτοῖς προκαλύμματα πρὸς τὰ βέλη, ὡς ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἀβλαβῶς ἐργάζεσθαι), ἐκπλαγεὶς ὁ Χοριήνης πρὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα κήρυκα πέμπει πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, δεόμενος Ὀξυάρτην οἱ ἀναπέμψαι· καὶ πέμπει Ὀξυάρτην Ἀλέξανδρος.

7 Ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος πείθει Χοριήνην ἐπιτρέψαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ χωρίον. Βιᾷ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔτι οὐχ ἁλωτὸν εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ ἐκείνου· ἐς πίστιν δὲ ἐλθόντος καὶ φιλίαν, τὴν πίστιν τε καὶ δικαιότητα μεγαλωστὶ ἐπῄνει τοῦ

in relays, Perdiccas and Leonnatus and Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, with the rest of the army divided into three sections, as Alexander had commanded for the night work. By day time they could not accomplish a distance of more than twenty cubits, at night rather less, even though all the army was at work, so difficult was the ground, and so hard the work there. First descending into the ravine they fixed stakes into the narrowest part of the ravine, the stakes being just as far apart from one another as was proper to give the necessary strength and to bear safely the load piled upon them. Then they fixed upon the stakes hurdles of wicker and osiers in bridge fashion; then binding these closely together they heaped earth upon them, so that the approach for the troops to the rock might be on the level.[1]

At first the barbarians laughed at these attempts as if quite hopeless, but when at length arrows began to find the range of the rock and they proved unable from above to discharge the Macedonians who had made advance against the mounds, so that they worked beneath them unharmed, Chorienes was aghast at the achievement and sent a herald to Alexander begging him to send Oxyartes to him, and Alexander did so. And when Oxyartes came he tried to persuade Chorienes to surrender himself and his stronghold to Alexander. For nothing he said could not be taken by force by Alexander and his army; if, however, Chorienes should make terms of good faith and friendship with Alexander, he was able to commend highly the good faith and justice of the

[1] See Appendix.

Βασιλέως τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ δὲ σῶμα
ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων τοῦ λιμοῦ πρόφασιν. Τούτους
σταθεὶς ὁ Χάρητος αὐτοὺς τε δὴ τοὺς περὶ Ἀλέξ-
ανδρον καὶ τὸν σκῆπτον τὸν καὶ σφραγῖδα αὐτοῦ
ἔλαβεν· ἐς δὲ Χαρίνην φιλανθρώπως τε ἀνακομι-
σθῆναι καὶ θεῖναι ἐν βασιλείοις ἐκέλευσεν. Ἐπὶ
τούτοις δὲ πάλιν τὸν συνεστεφθότων τινὰ
αὖθις ἐς τὸν τάφον τὸν πολυτελῆ ἐκόμισαν
τὸ χωμα. Καὶ στεφάνοις μὲν τὸν ξυνεστεφ-
θότων ἔθαπτε καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνελεῖν τὸν
τὸν στεφάνων τὸ πεπτωκὸς οὐ σπουδῇ κατὰ
θεὸν τῆς τύχης· καὶ τοσοῦτον εἶναι ἀντὶ πάντα
τὰ ἐν τοῖς Χάρητος ἐπῶν ἀναλεξάσθαι ἔφη καὶ
αὐτὸ τὸ χωμα εἶναι ἐπιτάφιον Ἡφαίστῳ καὶ
ἐκείνῳ εἶναι δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἔτι.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ χωμα τὸ καταστρῶμα αὐτῷ τοῦ
στρατοῦ ἐν πολλῇ χώρᾳ ἐπιτεθειμένῳ ἐν τῇ
πολυτελείᾳ, καὶ ἅμα ἄτοπα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμά-
των ἐφάνησαν. Ἄλλα Χάρητος δὲ ἐμπορικὸν αὐτὰ
ἔφη ἐκείνῳ τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ ἔτυχε τὸν καὶ
ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχειν τὸ τάφ-
ρου κατὰ σπουδήν. Καὶ ταῦτα ἐκεῖ ἐν ἡμέραις
πολλαῖς τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον
ἐκεῖνον ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου μεγάλης. Ἐκεῖνον τε γὰρ
μᾶλλον τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι ἔπεσι
μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ στρατοῦ.

XXII Ταῦτα δὲ κατεπράττοντο Ἀλεξάνδρου
αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τοῦ Κλεάνδρου δὲ τοῦ
ἄλλου στρατοῦ ἡγουμένου ἐξαπίνης καὶ τοῦ
πεζοῦ τοῦ τε αὐτοῦ ταξίᾳ καὶ τοῦ Πολυπερ-
χοντος καὶ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τοῦ Ἀλκέτα δὲ
Κάρανος τε καὶ Λεοννάτος ἐπιπτον, οἱ δὲ μετὰ

King, giving many examples, but chiefly adducing his own treatment, in proof of his argument. Chorienes was convinced by these arguments and himself came to Alexander with some of his kinsfolk and friends. And when Chorienes arrived, Alexander replied to him courteously, and gave him assurance of his friendship, retaining Chorienes himself, but bidding him send some of those who came down with him to the rock to order the stronghold to be given up. And given up it was by the refugees, so that Alexander himself, with about five hundred of the body-guard, and ascended to see the rock; and so far from doing any ungracious act to Chorienes, he actually entrusted the stronghold to him and made him governor of the district he had previously administered.

The army, as it happened, had suffered much in the winter, a great deal of snow having fallen during the siege, and also they were distressed by want of provisions. But Chorienes said he would give two months' rations for the army, and gave them corn and wine from the stores in the rock, and distributed dried meat among the tents. Even after all these gifts he said he had not expended a tenth of what they had prepared for the siege. Alexander therefore regarded him with the greater respect, since he had given up the stronghold not so much perforce as from good-will.

XXII. After this achievement Alexander himself marched towards Bactria, but he sent Craterus, with six hundred of the Companion cavalry and of the infantry his own brigade, that of Polysperchon and Attalus, and that of Alcetas, against Catanes and Austanes, who alone were left of those who had

ἐν ἐπιλείποντι δὲ τῇ Παμφυλίᾳ χωρῇ
1 ἀφίστανται. Καὶ μοῖραν τινὰ τῶν αὐτῶν
στρατιωτῶν πέμπει ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν τῷ μὲν
ἐπὶ Κιλικίας καὶ ἀνθίστασθαι αὐτοῖς παρήγγειλε.
Λυκίαν δὲ ξὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει τῇ ἐπὶ
σφίσιν ἦλθε καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς Μακεδόνων ἐπεμ-
ψε τοὺς ἀφεδρεύσοντας καὶ φόρους τοὺς ἐπὶ
τοῖς χωρίοις τετακτοὺς. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐπεπράχει
τῷ ἐπὶ Κιλικίας καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ Βακτρίᾳ χωρὶς
Καὶ τὴν Βακτρίαν τε ἐπὶ Καλλισθένους τε καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων ταξάντων Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπεποίητο.
2 Ἐν Βακτροις δὲ ἀφικομένῳ ἤδη τῷ ἔαρι
ἀπήγγελλον τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινὲς καὶ ἐν
Ἰνδοῖς Ἀμύντου ἀπόλειμμα ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν
Βακτρίων καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς μέρος τοξοτῶν
4 καὶ ἱππέων ἀπολεῖσθαι. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀμύντου
ἦν τὸν Κλεάνδρου τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἀφεστῶτα
ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ τῷ Καυκάσῳ ὄρει
τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπὶ Βακτρίαν ἀγαγεῖν.
Καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφίξει
τῇ ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς στρατιώτας παραλαβεῖν τῆς δυνά-
5 μεως ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶναι ἐδόκει. Προσεπυνθάνετο
δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τῶν στρατιωτῶν τε καὶ τῶν
ἐπιτηδείων ὅτου μέρος ἐν τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδροις.
Νικάνορα μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἑταίρων τὸν τοῦ
σωματοφύλακος ἀπεστάλκει ἐς Ἰωνίαν ἀγεῖν
ἐκεῖνον τὸν τῆς χώρας τῆς Παπαγωνίδου καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων ἐκεῖ τῶν Κυρήνης στρατιω-
6 τῶν. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τὸν Νικόμαχον τοῦτον καὶ τὴν Ἀθη-
ναίων πρεσβείαν ἐς ἐκεῖνον ἐπρεσβεύσατο
ἐπιστεῖλαι ἐς Ἰωνίαν τε καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ τοῦ
Ἰνδοῦ στρατιωτῶν, ἐπιστεῖλαι ἀνιέναι ἔκαστον ἐς
οἴκους

rebelled in the territory of the Parapamisus. There was a severe battle fought against them, but Craterus' troops won the day. Sixteen hundred on the field fell, and Craterus was wounded. Soon before Alexander had subjugated the Assacenians, and in a hundred and twenty pitched battles had slain about fifteen hundred. And when envoys from Bactra were received, that they too might revolt, Bactra, where it was, but the part of Caucasus and he marched against Arsaces with speed.

From Bactra now that spring was ending, Alexander came to Nicaea and received tribute. Leaving Artabazus behind in Bactra and with him three thousand foot and five hundred cavalry and ten thousand infantry. Crossing the Caucasus in ten days he arrived at the city of Alexandria which he had founded in the district of the Parapamisadae during his previous visit to Bactra. The governor whom he had set over the city there he now dismissed from his office as he appeared to have proved an inefficient ruler. He then marched to Artacoana where he learned from the neighborhood and of the troops who were just fighting and ordered Nicanor one of the Companions to take charge of them. Hephaestion and Perdiccas he appointed Taxiarchs, both of the country of the Parapamisadae and of the rest as far as to the river Euphrates. Then reaching Nicaea and after marching to Athens he crossed towards the Euphrates sending a herald in advance to Tarsus and the citizens thereabout of the river Indus, bidding them meet him, each of them carrying out

[1] As before, the Rhodes Greek also called the Parapamisus.

ἑκάστοις πρεσβυτὴ. Καὶ Ταξίλης τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὕπαρχοι αὐτῶν, δῶρα τὰ μεγίστα παρ' Ἰνδοῖς νομίζοντα νομίζοντες καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας δυοῖν ἑφάσκον τοὺς παρὰ σφίσιν εἶναι, ἀριθμὸν δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν.

7 Ἔνθα δὴ διελὼν τὸν στρατὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν καὶ Περδίκκαν ἐκπέμπει ἐς τὴν Πευκελαωτῶν χώραν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδοῦ ποταμόν, ἔχοντας τήν τε Ἰππέων τάξιν καὶ Κλείτου καὶ Μελεάγρου καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ἱππέων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἱππέας ξυμπάντας προστάξας τά τε κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν χωσαι ἢ διὰ ἐξαιρεῖν ἢ ὁμαλίσαι παρατεθαι· καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδοῦ ποταμὸν ἀφικόμενους παρασκευάζειν δυοῖν τε τὴν διάβασιν
8 τοῦ ποταμοῦ ξυμφορᾶ. Σὺν τούτοις δὲ καὶ Ταξίλης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὕπαρχοι στελλονται. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἀφικοντο ποὸς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν, ἔπραξαν ὅσα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἦν τεταγμένα. Ἄσσης δὲ ὁ τῆς Πευκελαωτίδος χώρας ὕπαρχος ὑστερήσας αὐτὸς τε ἀπόλλυται καὶ τὴν πόλιν προσπολέμιον ἐς δύσιν ξυμπεφύγει. Ἐξελὼν μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις προσκαθήμενος ὁ ξὺν Ἡφαιστίωνι. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν Ἄσσης ἀπεδύσατο, τῇ πόλει δὲ ἐπιμελείᾳ Σαγγαίου, ὃς ἐπὶ πρόσθεν ὑφίστατο Ἄσσῃ παρὰ Ταξίλῃ πὶτιμολήσει· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ πιστὸν πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου.

XXIII Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ, ἅμα τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τὸν σύμπαν ἵππον ὅσον μὴ σὺν Ἡφαιστίωνι ἐτεταχατο καὶ τῶν πεζεταίρων[1] καλουμένων τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας

[1] πεζεταίρων A Bas II M 2, Y M 4

venience, Taxiles and the others did come to meet him, bringing such gifts as the Indians most prize, and they promised to give Alexander the elephants they had with them, five-and-twenty in number.

Here he divided his army, and sent Hephaestion and Perdiccas to the territory of Peucelaotis towards the river Indus, with the brigade of Coenus and of Cleitus and of Meleager and half of the Companions' cavalry and all the mercenary cavalry, bidding them either to take by storm, or to receive in surrender, all towns on their march, then, when they had reached the Indus, to get everything ready for the crossing of the river. Taxiles and the other authorities were sent with them. They duly arrived at the river Indus and carried out Alexander's commands. But Astes the governor of the district Peucelaotis attempted revolt, and was himself put to death, while he involved in his fate the city also to which he had fled for refuge. For Hephaestion and his troops besieged it for thirty days and captured it. Astes himself having been put to death, Sangaeus was appointed to govern the city, he had previously escaped from Astes and had gone over to Taxiles; this guaranteed his good faith with Alexander.

XXIII. But Alexander, taking the bodyguard and such of the Companions' cavalry as had not been detailed with Hephaestion and the brigades of the Companions' infantry, as it is called, with the archers,

καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστάς. προύχωρει ἐς τὴν Ἀσπασίων τε καὶ Γουραίων χώραν καὶ Ἀσσα-
2 κηνῶν. Παρεσθεις δὲ παρὰ τὸν Χοην καλού-
μενον ποταμὸν ὀρεινήν τε ὁδὸν καὶ τραχεῖαν, καὶ
ταύτην διαβὰς χαλεπῶς, τὸ μὲν πεζὸν πλῆθος
βαδὴν ἔπεσθαι οἱ ἐκέλευσεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν
τοὺς ἱππέας ξυμπαντας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τῶν
Μακεδόνων ἐς πεντακοσίους ἐπιβιβάσας τῶν
ἵππων ξὺν ταῖς ἀσπισι ταῖς πελτικαῖς σπουδῇ
ἦγεν, ὅτι τοὺς ταύτῃ οἰκοῦντας Βαρβάρους
ξυμπεφευγέναι ἐς τε τὰ ὄρη τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν
ἐξηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι ὀχυραὶ
3 αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι. Καὶ τούτων τῇ
πρώτῃ καθ' ὁδὸν πόλει φάσμενη προσβαλὼν
τοὺς μὲν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τετραμμένους ὡς εἶχον
ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐτρέψατο καὶ κατεκλεισεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν,
αὐτὸς δὲ τιτρωσκεται βέλει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς
τὸν ὦμον. Τὸ δὲ τραῦμα οὐ χαλεπὸν αὐτῷ
ἐγένετο· ὁ γὰρ θώραξ ἔσχε τὸ μὴ οὐ διαμπὰξ
διὰ τοῦ ὤμου ἐλθεῖν τὸ βέλος. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ
Λάγου ἐτρώθη καὶ Λεοννατος.
4 Τότε μὲν δὴ ὧδε ἐπιμαχώτατον τοῦ τείχους
ἐφαίνετο ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο πρὸς τῇ πόλει· τῇ
δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω, διπλοῦν γὰρ τεῖχος
περιβέβλητο τῇ πόλει, ἐς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, ὅτε
οὐκ ἀκριβῶς τετειχισμένον, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐβιά-
σαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες· πρὸς δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ ὅλῳ
ἀντισχοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ὡς αἵ τε κλιμακες
προσεκειντο ἤδη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν πάντοθεν
ἐτιτρώσκοντο οἱ προμαχόμενοι, οὐκ ἔμειναν, ἀλλὰ
κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἐκπίπτουσιν ἐκ
5 τῆς πόλεως. Καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ

the Agrianes, and the mounted javelin-men, advanced to the district of the Aspasians, Cunaxans and Assacenians. Marching along the river Choes by a mountainous and rough route, and crossing the river with some difficulty, he bade the infantry force to follow him at normal pace, but himself taking all the cavalry and up to eight hundred of the Macedonian foot-soldiers whom he mounted, with their infantry shields, marched at full speed, having learnt that the tribesmen in this direction had fled for refuge to the hills of the district and to the cities which were strong for the purpose of defence. The first of these cities which lay on his route he assaulted, and without any special effort drove back the advance guards of the city, and shut them up in the city; but he himself received a wound by an arrow through his breast-plate in his shoulder. The wound, however, was not a serious one for the breastplate prevented the dart passing through his shoulder; Ptolemaeus son of Lagus also was wounded, and Leonnatus.

On this Alexander placed his camp by the city where the wall appeared easiest to assault; and next day about dawn, there being a double wall about the city, the Macedonians easily forced their way through the first, as it had not been carefully built; but at the second wall the tribesmen made a short stand, and yet when the ladders were now put up and the advance posts were being wounded on this side and on that by the missiles, they did not stand their ground, but dashed out of the city by the gates in the direction of the hills. Of them some perished in

ἀποθήσεσθαι· ὅσους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον αὐτῶν, ξυμπαντας ἀποστεῖναι οἱ Μακεδόνες, ὅτι ἐτρώθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος· ἀργιζόμενοι οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ἐς τὰ ὄρη, ἔτι οὐ μακρὰν τῆς πόλεως τὰ ὄρη ἦν, ἀπέφυγον. Τὴν πόλιν δὲ καταπαύσας ἐς Ἀνδάκην ἄλλην πόλιν ἦγε. Ταύτην δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ ἐνδοθεῖσαν κατασχὼν Κρατερῷ μὲν ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσι τῶν πεζῶν καταλείπει αὐτοῦ ἐξαιρεῖν ὅσαι ἂν ἄλλαι πόλεις μὴ ἐθέλουσαι προσχωρεῖν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὅπως ξυμφορώτατον ἐς τὰ παρόντα κοσμεῖν.

XXIV Αὐτὸς δὲ, ἄγων τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν Κοίνου τε καὶ Ἀττάλου ταξιν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τὸ ἄγημα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑταίρων ἐς τεσσαρας μάλιστα ἱππαρχίας καὶ τῶν ἱπποτοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἰνδασπλᾶ[1] προυχώρει, ἵνα ἡ τῶν Ἀσπασίων ἵππαρχος ἦν· καὶ διελθὼν πολλὴν ὁδὸν δευτεραῖος ἀφ' ἑστήκει πρὸς τὴν πόλιν.

2 Οἱ δὲ Βαρβαροι προσαγγελθέντα αἰσθόμενοι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν ἔφευγον πρὸς τὰ ὄρη. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον εἵποντο τῶν φευγόντων ἔστε ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, καὶ φόνος πολὺς γίγνεται τῶν Βαρβάρων, ὅσοι ἐς τὰς δυσχωρίας φθάσαι ἀπελθόντες.

3 Τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου φησὶν ἤδη γηλοφῳ ὄντα κατιδὼν καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἑπόμενον οὐκ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ξὺν πολλῷ ἐλάττοσιν αὐτὸς ἐπ' ὁμοῦ ἐθέλειν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου· ὡς δὲ χαλεπὸς ὁ γηλοφος τῷ ἵππῳ ἀναβαμεῖν ἦν, τοῦτον μὲν αὐτοῦ κατα-

[1] Δ ινασπλουν.

the escape, and the Macedonians slew all they captured alive, angry that Alexander had been wounded by them; the greater number, however, escaped to the hills, which were not far from the city. Alexander, razing the city to the ground, went on to another city, Andaca. This he received in surrender, and left Craterus with the other infantry officers to destroy such other cities as should not surrender of their free-will, and to put everything in order in this district as was most expedient for the present.

XXIV Alexander himself then took the body-guard, archers, and Agrianes, with Coenus' and Attalus' brigade, and the guards cavalry squadron and some four regiments of the other Companions and half the mounted archers, and advanced towards the river Euaspla, where was the governor of the Aspasians, and passing through a considerable stretch of territory in two days he arrived at the city. When the tribesmen, however, learnt of Alexander's approach, they fled to the mountains. But Alexander's troops followed close on the fugitives up to the mountains, and there was a great slaughter of the tribesmen, until they managed to escape into the more difficult country.

The actual leader of the Indians of this district Ptolemaeus son of Lagus saw already close to a hill, and some of his bodyguardsmen near him, though he himself had a much inferior force with him, yet continued to pursue him on horseback; but when the hill proved difficult for his horse to ascend he left it there,

Ἰνδῶν, παραδοὺς τῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἄγειν
6 αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν εἶχε τάξιν τῷ ἵππῳ αὐτοῦ. Ὁ
δὲ ὡς ἐπυνθάνετο ἤδη κατεῖδε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον,
αὐτὸς τε μεταβαλλόμενος τὸν ἵππον καὶ οἱ
ὑπασπισταὶ ἐπ' αὐτόν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰνδὸς τὸν
Πτολεμαῖον ἔβαλε τοῦ θώρακος τοῖς ἐπὶ χειρὸς
ἀφ' οὗ τὸ στέρνον ξυστῷ μακρῷ· καὶ ὁ θώραξ ἔσχε
τὸν πλήγην. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τὸν μηρὸν διαπερᾷ
βάλλει τὸν Ἰνδὸν καταβάλλει τε καὶ στενάξαντα
6 αὐτὸν. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τραύματος αἷμα σπάνιον οἱ
ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶδον, οἷόν περ εἰκὸς ἦν ἐν τῷ
μὴ τὰς κοιλίας ἀφικνεῖσθαι τοῦ παθόντος ἀλλὰ
ἔξω τρῶσαι τὸν πολέμιον ἤδη τε καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ ξυνιστάμενον ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον
σαρκῶν τρῶσαι τῷ γλωχῖνι. Ἤδη γὰρ καὶ
Ἀλέξανδρον ἄγων τοῦτο τὸν ἵππον κατὰ
βραδύτητος τοῦτο τρῶσαι τῷ γλωχῖνι ἦν. Καὶ
οὗτοι στενοχωρίαν μὲν ἐξώνησαν τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς ἐς
τὸ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς σφῶν ἐμπεσεῖν·
4 Τοξεύμασι δὲ τὰ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ πολλὰ
κατηκόντιζε ἡ ἄκρα τῶν Ἀσπασίων καὶ τούτῳ
κατακαυθέντα τοξεύματα ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναβατῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρείων τεθέντα· ἐκτανθὲν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Κράτερον
ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, στρατηγοῦντος αὐτοῦ ξυνασπιστοῦ
7 ὄντος τοῦ τῶν Βασιλικῶν ἡγεμόνος. Τούτων μὲν
δὴ τῶν πολλῶν ὅτι δὲ ἀνιαρὸν χωρὶς ἵππου
φεύγειν ἐστιγμένοι τε πρόσθεν ὑπὸ Κράτερον καὶ
ξυνειδότες ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα ὄντες
ἀθλητοὶ καὶ οὐ δὴ τινες ἀποκλίνειν τὴν στρατιάν.
Αὐτὸς δὲ πρόσω ἰὼν ξυμπεφευγυίαν ἐνέπιπτε
αὐτοῖς τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων. Ἐλθὼν

handing it to one of the guards to lead, but he himself, on foot as he was, followed hard upon the Indian. He then, seeing Ptolemaeus drawing near, himself turned round to bay, and his guards with him, and the Indian with his long spear struck at close quarters through Ptolemaeus corselet to his breast, the corselet checking the blow, but Ptolemaeus smote right through the Indian's thigh, drove him to the ground, and despoiled him. His followers, seeing their leader lying there, no longer remained, but others from the hills seeing the enemy carrying off their governor's body, were bitterly grieved, and rushing down joined in a severe battle with them near the hill. Now Alexander, with his cavalrymen dismounted was already near the hill. They coming to join the fray only with difficulty drove back the Indians to the mountains, and got possession of the body.

Crossing the mountains Alexander descended at a city called Arigaeum, and captured it after it had been set on fire by its inhabitants, but found the inhabitants themselves had fled. Here there met him Craterus and his men with the army, after carrying through successfully all that Alexander had commanded them. This city indeed, since it seemed to be in a convenient position, he bade Craterus to strengthen with a wall, and settle therein the neighbouring tribesmen, as many as volunteered, and any of the army who were past fighting. He himself, however, advanced to where he had learnt that the greater part of the tribesmen of this district had

δὲ πάσι τι ἔρυμα, κατεστρατοπεδευκότων ὑπὸ ταῖς ὑπωρείαις τοῦ ὄρους.

6 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐστεμφθεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς πρόσωπον, προελθὼν δὲ πρόσω αὐτὸς ξὺν ὀλίγοις ὡς ἐς κατασκοπήν, ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πυρὰ κατὰ νῶτα τῶν βαρβάρων πλείονα ἢ ἐν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατο-
7 πέδῳ. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ μὲν πλήθει τῶν πυρῶν ἠπίστησεν εἶναι, δέ τι ξυνεστηκὸς τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων αἰσθόμενος, μέσης μὲν τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει ὡς εἶχον ἐστρατοπεδευμένους, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν ἵππον ἀπεχώρησεν ἐς τὰ ἀπηγγελμένα ἐφαίνοντο, ὡς πλησίον ἤδη ἀφικόμενος τῶν πυρῶν, τριχῇ διε-
10 νεῖμε τὴν στρατιάν. Καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἔταξε Λεοννάτου τοῦ σωματοφύλακα, ξυνέταξε δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν τε Ἄτταλον καὶ τὴν Βαλακροῦ ταξιν· τὴν δευτέραν δὲ μοῖραν Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου ἄγειν ἔδωκε τῶν τε ὑπασπιστῶν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τὸ τρίτον μέρος καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου καὶ Φίλωτα ταξιν καὶ ὄνους χιλιάρχειας τῶν τοξοτῶν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἡμίσεας· τὴν δὲ τρίτην μοῖραν αὐτὸς ἦγεν ἅπερ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐφαίνοντο.

XVI Οἱ δὲ ἐκ θαθμοῦ προσάγοντες τοὺς Μακεδόνας κατεῖχον γὰρ χωρία ὑπερύφορα τῷ τε πλήθει σφῶν βαρυνόμενοι καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὅτι ὀλίγοι ἐφαίνοντο, καταφρονήσαντες, ἐς τὰ πεδία ὑπεκατέβησαν καὶ μαχῇ γίγνεται κραρτερά. Ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οὐ ξὺν πόνῳ τοιῷδε
2 Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδὲ μὰν Πτολεμαῖος ἐνὸς ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ παρετάξαντο, ἀλλὰ γηλόφου γάρ κατεῖχον

taken refuge, and reaching a mountain he camped there at its foot.

At this same time Ptolemaeus son of Lagus whom Alexander had sent foraging, and who had advanced further ahead, himself and a few others, to scout, reported to Alexander that he had sighted fires of the tribesmen a good deal more numerous than in Alexander's own camp, yet Alexander was incredulous about the number of the fires, but perceiving that it was a device of the tribesmen of this district, he left part of his force behind encamped, as they were, and himself taking what appeared to be a sufficient force, in view of this report when they saw the fires from close at hand, divided his men into three parts, and he set over the first part Leonnatus, member of the bodyguard, detailing for him the brigade of Attalus and that of Balacrus, and the second portion he gave to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, namely a third part of the royal guards and the brigade of Philip and Philotas and two regiments of archers and the Agrianes, and half the cavalry, then he himself led the third division to where the greatest number of the tribesmen appeared to be.

XXV They as soon as they saw the Macedonians approach, holding as they did the heights, confident in their numbers, and despising the Macedonians, as they appeared to be few, descended to the plain, a severe battle followed. Still Alexander had the mastery of them without much difficulty. Ptolemaeus' troops were drawn up not on the level, but

οἱ βαρβαροι, ἐκβοων τε τοις λοχαγοις Πτολεμαιος προσιοντι ὑπερ ἐπιμαχοτατου τοῦ λοφου ἐφαινετο, οὐ παντη του λοφου ἐκτελεσαντος, ἀλλ' ἀτελεστου, οι φευγοντες ἐβαλλοντο οι βαρβαροι,
3 χωρας αὐτου ἐκ της φυγης. Και γιγνεται και τουτου μαχη καρτερα, του χωριου τῇ χαλεποτητι και ὁτι οὐ κατα τους ἀλλους τους ταυτῃ βαρβαρους οι Ἰνδοι, ἀλλα πολυ δη τι ἀλκιμωτατοι των προσχωρων εισιν. Ἐξωθησαν δε και οὗτοι ὑπο τοῦ δουρος ὑπο τους Μακεδονας και οι αμφι Λεοννατον τῇ τριτῃ μοιρᾳ της στρατιας ἐπεισαντες ἐκραξαν· ἐπιπου γαρ και οὗτοι τους κατα σφας
4 Και λεγει Πτολεμαιος ἀνθρωπους μεν λαφθηναι τους ταυτῃ ὑπερ τετρακισχιλιους. Βουν δε ὑπερ τους τρεις και ελαφους μυριαδας και τουτων της αλλης στρατιας ἐπιλεξαμενου Ἀλεξανδρου, ὁτι διαφερουσι αὐτῳ αλλα τε και μεγεθει σφισιν, ἐκφηνας ἐβουλετο οι Μακεδονας ἐργαζεσθαι τὴν χωραν.
5 Ἐκπεπυσθω δη τῳ τῶν Ἀσσακηνῶν χωραν ἐκεινην τουτων γαρ ἐξεγγελλετο παρεστασθαι σφισι μαχουμενους ἱππεας μεν δι' ἑκατον μαλιστα ἐκοντας πεζους δε ὑπερ τους τρισμυριους τρισκαιους δε ἐλεφαντας. Κρατησαντος μεν δη, ὁστε γενεσθαι ἐξω του πολεμου ἐφ' ᾧ τῇ αὐτοκρᾳ κατελελειπτο, τους τε βαρυτερον ὡπλισμενους της στρατιᾶς Ἀλεξανδρος ἠγε και τὰς μηχανας,
6 εἰ που πολιορκειν δεησειεν. Αὐτος δε Ἀλεξανδρος, τους τε σκιροφορους ἱππεας ἐκεινους ἠγεν και τους ἱππακοντιστας και τὴν Κοινου και Πολυσπερχοντος ταξιν και τους Ἀγημονος τους χιλιους και τους τοξοτας, μη ὁτι τους Ἀσσακηνων

above the tribesmen held a hill. Proceeding through his lines into the plain and there up to the point where the hill armed men set upon to assault and [illegible] the hills on all sides, but leaving a space for [illegible], should the tribesmen [illegible]. With these there followed a severe battle both because of the difficulty of the position and because these Indians were not of the same kind as the rest in that district, but much the most warlike of all the neighbouring tribes. Yet even these were driven down from the mountain by the Macedonians and Agrianians and his troops were [illegible] successful with the third part of the army, for they too conquered those ranged against them. And Ptolemaeus says that the total of men captured was over forty thousand, and of oxen over two hundred and thirty thousand; and of these Alexander chose out the finest because they seemed to be of unusual beauty and use, and was anxious to send them into Macedonia to work the land.

Thence he proceeded to the territory of the Assacenians, for these were reported to have put a end for battle with two thousand horsemen, over thirty thousand infantry and [illegible] elephants. Ceteron then, who had to shed the [illegible] of the city of whose settlement he had been put in charge took to Alexander the heavier armed troops of the army and the siege engines, because he had need of a siege. But Alexander himself with the [illegible] guard and the mounted javelineers and the brigade of Coenus and Perdiccas the thousand Agrianes and the archers, marched towards the Assacenians

1 ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible]

and he went through the country of the Cursians. And the river Euaxes, which shares its name with the country, he crossed with difficulty both because of its depth and because its current was rapid and the rounded stones in the river proved very slippery to anyone stepping on them. But the tribesmen, learning that Alexander was approaching, dared not take their stand in mass for a battle, but breaking off in parties each to their city they purposed to defend and save them.

XXVI Alexander then marched first against Massaga, the greatest of the cities in the district. When he already was approaching the walls the tribesmen relying on mercenary Indians brought from further India about seven thousand men; as soon as they saw the Macedonians pitching camp, charged into them at the double. So Alexander seeing that the battle would be near the city, being anxious to draw them out further from their walls so that if a rout took place and he was near it would they should not have their city close at hand for refuge and so come off safe, as soon as he saw the tribesmen rallying out bade the Macedonians turn right about and withdraw towards the camp, as if seven stades away from the site on which he had decided to camp. So the enemy, growing up courage, thinking that the Macedonians had already given way, rushed upon them at full speed and in disorder. But when the arrows were just reaching the enemy, then Alexander by signal turned his cavalry towards them and led them at the double. First he mounted javelin men, the Agrianes and the archers dashed forward and attacked the tribesmen, but Alexander

βάσιμον αὐτοῖς δὲ τὸν φόβητρα δι τοῦτο ἦσαν.
6 Οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ τῷ τε πλήθει ἐπεκράτουν καὶ ἅμα ἐν χερσὶ γενομένους τοὺς μαχίμους ἐκπλήττουσι ἐφίστασθαι τοῦ τείχους. Καὶ ἀνέβαινον μὲν αὐτῶν ἅμα τοῖς βαλλομένοις οἱ δὲ λίθοις τε καὶ τοῖς τείχεσι κατελαμβάνοντο. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος προσέτρεχε τοῖς τείχεσι τοῖς φιλικοῖς, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοξεύοντας μὲν ἄνω τοῦ τείχους ἐς τὸ σφίσιν οὐ χαλεποὺς
8 ὑπεῖναι ἐν τοῖς μηχανικοῖς τῷ κατασκευῷ τῶν μὲν τείχων τὰ ἐπάνω κατεσκευασμένα διαζώσασθαι δὲ τοῦτο τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐκ παρασκευῆς τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἀτόλμως τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τρωθέντας, ἅτε τοῦτο μὲν τῷ ἄφνω ἐκπεπλῆχθαι τὸ στράτευμα. Τὸ δὲ κατάπαν τοῦτο τὸ Μακεδόνων αὐτοὺς ἐκ προοιμίου παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ πύργους ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐπιτηδείους ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ βάθος ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐκ σειρᾶς ἀποστάντας ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὧδε βιαιοτέρα ἦν τοῦ τείχους αἵρεσις τὸ ἐπίπαν.
9 Τὸ δὲ τοῦτο πρόσχημα τῶν αἰθόνων τοῦ φιλικοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς τοξεύειν ἐπιτήδειον τοῦ τείχους ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τὸ τοῦτο ἔστιν τοῦ μέσου ἀπὸ, αἴτιον αὐτὸ καὶ Τύρου ἁλῶναι ἐς τὸν Ἡρακλέα μὴ ζῶν ἐπιβουλεύσαντα καὶ τὸν τοῦτο ἐπιτήδειον ἐν
7 αὐτῷ τῷ Μακεδόνων. Οἱ δὲ τοῦ βάσεως ἐκάστου τὸ πλησιαίτατον κλίμακα τὸ ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοξεύοντας ἀπὸ ἄλλης ἄνω τῆς κλίμακος ἐφίστασθαι ἐπὶ ἄκρου τοῦ τείχους ἐξωθοῦντες οἱ τοῦ Μακεδόνων· οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀπὸ τὰ μακρότατα μακρὰς ἅμα, ἐκδύοντες τὰ χαλκᾶ ἐπάνω τετραγωνοῦντες.

himself led on his phalanx to the center. But the Indians upset by the unexpected attack and unable to withstand the onset turned and fled back to the city. Some two hundred of them perished, but the rest were shut up inside the walls. Alexander brought up his phalanx to the wall and there was wounded and narrowly by an arrow from the wall on his ankle. But next day he set up two engines he had destroyed a part of the wall and as the Macedonians pressed close at the breach of the wall the Indians beaten retreated. All that day Alexander remained his troops. But next day the Macedonian attack was more efficient and a wooden tower was brought up against the wall from which the archers shot missiles while from the engines they hurled missiles, and so these much repressed the Indians but not even so could they have their way inside the wall.

But on the third day bringing up again the phalanx and throwing a bridge from an engine to the breach of the wall over this Alexander and his body guard, who had by this time the same way to capture [illegible] Many pressed forward in eagerness and the bridge proving too great a weight broke and the Macedonians fell with it. But the Indians seeing the occurrence raising a shout withdrew from the wall and arrows and anything they had to hand or anything they picked up shot at the Macedonians, and others by the same gates which they had in the spaces between the towers broke forth and at some quarters struck at the Macedonians while in this confusion.

XXVII Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τιμωροῦντος Ἀλάστορα ξὺν τῇ αὐτοῦ τάξει τοὺς τε καταστρωμένους ἀναλαβόντα καὶ ὅσοι προσεμαχόντο στασιάζοντας ἐπὶ ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τῇ τετάρτῃ μεσοῦντος ἤδη τοῦ ἔαρος προσπίπτει ἄλλη ἐπιβουλὴ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε τῶν τείχεων

2 Καὶ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ὅσοι μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν ἄστεσι τοῦ χωρίου τούτου, ἀντεμάχοντο καρτερῶς· οἱ δὲ βάλλοντες ἀπὸ μηχανῆς τινων ἀποπειρασάμενοι ἔτυχον τοῦ μὲν τινος ἀστοχήσαντος τῆς ξυνηθείας τοξεύματος, πολλοὶ δὲ τραυματίαι τε καὶ ἀπρακτοι ἦσαν, ἀναπηδήσαντος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου

3 Τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὴν πύλην αὐτῷ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες καὶ ξυμβάλλουσι τοῖς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῖς μὲν ἄφοβοι Ἰνδοὶ ὡς ἀπαντήσοντες τῇ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιᾷ ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύσεσθαι· Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐξιόντες ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσαντες κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ γηλόφου ἦσαν ἀντίπορον τοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων στρατοπέδου· Νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένου ἔδοξεν ἐκλογισαμένοις ἐπὶ τὸ σφέτερον ἦθος ἀνάρμοστον, εἰ ἐθελήσουσι ξυμμίσγεσθαι

4 τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰνδοῖς ὅπλα· Καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, περιστήσας τὴν φυλακὴν τῷ γηλόφῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς πᾶσαν, κατέσκεπτο τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς δὲ μόνον ἀπολείπων, τὰ τε ὅπλα αἴρει κατὰ κράτος ἐμπεσόντας τῶν προσχώρων, καὶ τῶν μετὰ τῆς Ἀσσακηνοῦ καὶ τῶν παίδων ἁλίσκει· Ἀπέβαινε δὲ ἐς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων τῶν ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς πάντα εὐτυχία

5 Ἐν δὲ Κύρνῳ μὲν οὐ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ τὰ ἐντάφια, γράμμα τε καὶ σημεῖον ὅτι μαθόντες τὸν Μόσχον τὸν τῆς ἄλλης ἐκόσμουν σφᾶς αὐτούς. Ἀττα-

XXVII Alexander now sent Attalus with his brigade, both to pick up the wounded and to recall to the camp any who were still engaged, and the fourth day similarly from another engine another bridge was brought up to the wall.

The Indians, as long as their chief survived, resisted stoutly, but as soon as he was hit by a missile from a catapult, and killed, they, with part of their number already fallen in the close siege, and part now wounded and unfit for service, sent to Alexander to ask for a truce. He was glad enough to be able to preserve such valiant men, and it was here that Alexander agreed with his mercenary Indians to join the rest of his army and take the field with him. They passed out with their arms, and encamped by themselves on a hill, which lay facing the Macedonian camp, and they intended, at night, to slip away and escape to their own tribes, not being desirous of taking up arms against the rest of the Indians. When this was reported to Alexander he threw his whole force during night-time round the hill, and cut down the Indians whom he had thus enclosed, their city he captured by assault, deprived as it was of its chief defenders, and took there also Assacenus' mother and daughter. In the entire siege there perished some twenty-five of Alexander's men.

Thence he sent Coenus to Bazira, considering that on learning of the capture of Massaga they would

λου δὲ καὶ Ἀλκέτας καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν ὑπαρχον ἐπὶ Ἴλου στέλλει, ἄλλην τέλαν, παραγγείλας περιτειχίζειν τὴν τέλαν ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς
6 αὖτις. Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τέλαρον τὸν ἐν τῇ τέλαντι ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀμφὶ Ἀλκέταν. Οἱ γαλάται δὲ τὰ ψαμμώδη αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐν Μακεδόνων εἶναι τοῦ ταχέως ἐν τῇ τέλαι ἀποστρέφουσι. Καὶ Κοῖνος οὐ προχωρεῖ τὰ ἐς τοὺς Βαζίρους, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐπιόντα γὰρ τὸν χειμῶνα τῇ ὀχυρότητι, ὅτι ἐπιφυλίου τε ἦν καὶ τοῦτο ἀφειδῶς τετειχισμένον, οὐδὲν ξυμβατικὸν ἐποίουν
7 Ταῦτα μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁρῶντα μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Βαζίρα τοῦτο δὲ ὅτι τῶν προσκώπων τινὲς Βαζίρων παρῆσαν ἐς τὰ Ἴλου τὸν τέλαν λαβόντες μέλλοντι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τοῦδε ἐστάλαντο, ἐπὶ τὰ Ἴλου πρώτον ἦγε. Κοῖνον δὲ περιτειχίσαι τῇ τέλαι τοὺς Βαζίρους ἐπὶ τοῦτοις τε ἐκέλευσε τὴν χώραν προσταξε, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ φύλακας καταλιπόντα ἀποχωρεῖν, ὡς μὴ δόξαι εἶναι τοῖς ἐν τῇ τέλαι χρήσθαι τὴν χώρᾳ, αὐτὸν δὲ ἄγοντα τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν λοιπὴν παρ'
8 αὐτὸν ἰέναι. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Βαζίρου ὡς εἶδον ἀπιόντα ξὺν τῷ πλείστῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸν Κοῖνον, καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Μακεδόνων ὡς οὐ πολεμίων ἐν φόβου ἀξιομάχων, ἐπεξέρχονται ἐς τὸ πεδίον καὶ γίγνεται αὐτοῖς μάχη καρτερά. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τιτρώσκει μὲν τῶν Βαζίρων ἐς πεντακοσίους, ζωγρεῖ δὲ ὀλιγῳ ἔλασσον τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς τὴν τέλαν ξυμφυγόντες διεταράχθησαν ἤδη ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τῷ τοῦ τειχίσματος
9 Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς Ἴλους ἡ τελευταία οὐ χαλεπὴ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου προσβαλὼν τοῖς ταχέως τῇ

surrender. But Attalus and Cleitus and Demetrius the commander of the cavalry hemmed them in with their troops, and the battle was a fierce one, during the whole day, with varying success. The losses were made however a match for Alexander's forces. But the Mardi were easily defeated there and turned them back from the city. Cleitus was not successful at Petra, for the townspeople trusting in the strength of their city, which was very high and fortified carefully all round, showed no signs of surrendering.

Alexander on hearing this started towards Petra, but hearing that some of the neighbouring townsmen were preparing to support those in the city for Alexander had sent them expressly for this he advanced first towards Ira and he commanded Cleitus to halt near the city of Petra a strong position and to there leave a well-kept garrison so that the population might not fall at their rear on the neighbouring country and then to bring the rest of the army to join him. But the townsmen in Petra seeing Cleitus departing with the majority of the army made a sally from the Macedonians as not wishing to prove worthy opponents and rushed on from the city and there was a severe battle. In the battle as many as five hundred of the townsmen fell and over seventy were taken alive. The rest were driven back into the city and were now even there scarcely hindered from going into the country by those who had the strength of facing their foes. Alexander found the siege of Ora not difficult but at once attacking the walls he took the city at the first

ἑκάστου δυνατὸν καὶ τῶν Λιβάντων τῶν ἐγκαταλειφθέντων ἔλαβε.

XXVIII. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖς Βαζίροις ἐπράχθη· ἀφικνοῦνται δὲ τὰ ἐφεξῆς τούτοις ἐπὶ μέσας πάντας τοὺς Ἀσσακηνούς. Οἱ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς ἐφοβοῦντο ἀκούοντες τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐπὶ τοὺς ξενικοὺς ἐφιέναι καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀσσακηνῶν καταλογισμόν. Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τῶν Ἰνδῶν κατάστασιν τὴν χώραν ταύτην, καὶ ὅσην ὑπὸ αὐτῷ κατεῖχε τότε Ἡρακλῆς τῷ
2 Διὶ ἔθυσε νικητήρια τῷ πατρί. Ἦν μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἰνδῶν ἄρχων ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Θηβαῖος ἐπὶ Τυρίῳ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσσυρίων ἐπὶ πάντας ἐπεστάλη ἔχων μοῖραν στρατοῦ· μαθὼν δὲ ὅσοι τε ἐν ἀφορμῇ αὐτοῦ ἐγένοντο καὶ ὅσοι ἐν ἀπορίᾳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τοσούτῳ ἔργῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς χρήμασιν αὐτὸν ἐπῄνεσε τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐπεφημίζεσθαι
3 ἔφη μὲν δὴ ἐκείνῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἔθυσε καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ὁ Τυρίου ἄρχων ἐπιφημίζεσθαι. Τὸν μὲν δὴ ἐκείνου τοῦ στρατὸν λέγουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἐς ἑκατὸν μυριάδας εἶναι ἐλθεῖν ἐς ἀριθμόν, καὶ ἀνδρῶν χιλιοστύας μιᾶς χαλκᾶς εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἁρμάτων τῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀναληφθέντων ἐς τὰς μυρίας καὶ ἑξακοσίας· καὶ ἐλέφαντας καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρῶν ἀγωνιστὰς δισχιλίους καὶ χιλίους ἐπιφημίζεσθαι δεῖν ἐκείνῳ ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

4 Καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον πόθος ἔλαβεν εἰδέναι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δόξαν οὐχ ἥκιστα εἶναι τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν Ἡρακλεῖ μάλιστα ἐπόμενον. Τὰ μὲν δὴ Ἴσσου καὶ τὰ Μακεδόνα φρούρια στρατηγὸν

attempt, and captured the elephants which had been left there.

XXVIII When the inhabitants of Bazira learnt this, they lost confidence in their position, and about midnight deserted the city, and thus did all the remaining tribesmen, deserting their cities they all fled to the rock in this neighbourhood called Aornos.[1] It is an unusually large rock in this country, and the story about it is that even Heracles the son of Zeus was unable to capture it. Whether indeed Heracles, either the Theban or the Tyrian Heracles, or the Egyptian, ever reached India I cannot state confidently. I rather incline to think that he did not, but rather that whatever difficulties men meet, they exaggerate this difficulty so far as to relate a legend that Heracles himself could not have overcome them. This at any rate is my view about this rock, that Heracles has been brought in to make more of the story. In any case they give the circuit of the rock as about two hundred stades, its height, at its lowest part, at eleven stades, and there is said to be one way up only, a made way, and a rough one. On the top of the rock is plenty of pure water, it comes from a spring and in fact even runs off the rock; there is also wood and good arable land there, enough for a thousand men to till.

As soon as Alexander heard this, he was seized with a desire to capture this mountain also, and not least by reason of the legend about Heracles. Ora and Massaga he made fortresses in the district, but

[1] On its site see Introduction.

ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ τὰ βαζίμα δὲ πολλὰν ἐξετείχισε.
5 Καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα τε καὶ Περδίκκαν αὐτῷ ἄλλην πολιν ἐτείχισαντες ὁρμώμενοι ὅσοπερ τῇ πόλει ἦν, καὶ φρουρὰν καταλιπόντες ἐπὶ ἅπασι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐποιοῦντο ὁδῷ ἅπερ καὶ τὸ ζεῦγος τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐτέτακτο.

6 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῆς μὲν χώρας τῆς ἐπὶ τῷδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ κατέστησε σατράπην Νικάνορα τῶν ἑταίρων. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐπὶ ἅπασι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἦν καὶ πόλιν τε Πευκελαοτῶν ἐπὶ πορθμῷ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐπιτειχίσας ἀπολογῆς παρασκευήσατο καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ φρουρὰν κατέστησε τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ Φιλίππου ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ ἡγεμόνα, ὃ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα προσηνάγκαστο μικρὰ πολισματα πρὸς τῷ Ἰνδῷ ποταμῷ φρούρια. Ξυνίστατο δὲ αὐτῷ Κωφαίων τε καὶ Ἀσσακηνῶν οἱ ὕπαρχοι τῆς χώρας. Ἀφικομένου δὲ ἐς Ῥαμβάκιαν πόλιν, ἣ ξυνέχει τῆς τε χώρας τὴν Ἀσσάκου φασίν, κρατήσας μὲν ξὺν μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς κατέλιπεν αὐτοῦ αὐτὸν τε ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὑπ' ἀλκιμίου ξυναγωγὴν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐν χρόνῳ τοιῷδε, ὡς ἐπιτειχίσαι τοὺς Μακεδόνας χρόνῳ τοιαύτῃ ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῶν ἀντιταττόντων τῇ στρατιᾷ, οἱ μὴ ἐξ ἑτοίμου λήψεσθαι.

8 Αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τοξότας τὸ ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν Κοίνου τάξιν καὶ ἄνω τῆς ἄλλης φαλαγγος ἀνίλεξε τοὺς εὐποδεστάτους τε καὶ ἅμα εὐπαλεστάτους καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ἱππέων οἱ διακοσίους καὶ ξυνεστράτευσε δι' ἐρήμου πρὸς ἕω τῇ στρατῷ. Καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο ἵνα ἐπιτήδειον αὐτῷ φαίνοιτο

the city of Bazira he enclosed with a wall. And Hephaestion and Perdiccas and those with them built a wall round another city, called Orobatis, and leaving there a garrison went on towards the river Indus, and on arrival, they took such steps as Alexander had ordered for the bridging of the Indus.

Of the region this side of the river Indus Alexander appointed Nicanor as governor, one of the Companions. He himself first went towards the river Indus and took over by surrender the city of Peucelaotis, situated not far from the Indus, and set a Macedonian garrison there with Philippus commandant of the garrison; and he also took over various small towns lying on the river Indus. With him followed Cophaeus and Assageteis, the governors of the country. Then reaching the city Embolima, which lay near the rock of Aornos, he left there Craterus with part of the army, bidding him get in as much provision as possible into the city and all else necessary for a long delay, so that the Macedonians, using the city as a base, might wear out the holders of the rock with a long blockade, should it not be captured by first assault. Then he himself taking the archers and the Agrianes and Coenus' brigade and choosing out the lightest from the rest of the phalanx, but at the same time the best armed, and with two hundred of the Companions' cavalry and a hundred mounted archers, approached the rock. For this day he encamped where it seemed to him

τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐλθὼν ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ τῶν
ἑταίρων αὐτὸν ἐπυνθάνετο τινα

XIII. Καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ἱερεὺς τῶν
προφητῶν τινὰ φῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ
πρόσθεν φοβεῖσθαι ἐκ τῶν τοῦ σώματος
χωρίων ἅδην τὸν γοητεύσαντα αὐτὸν δοκεῖν εἶναι
τὸν γυπόν. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Πτολεμαῖος
τὸν λόχον τὸν σωματοφυλάκων τοὺς τε Ἀγριᾶνας
ἄγοντα καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τοὺς ἑταιρικοὺς καὶ τοὺς
τοξότας ἐπιλέκτους, προστάξας σταδίους ἀπὸ
ἑκατὸν τὸν χῶρον κατασχεῖν μετ' αὐτὸν τὸν
2 φύλακα τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι τοῦ ἄρχοντος. Καὶ Πτολε-
μαῖον ἔλεγον οἱ παρόντες τὸ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιστόμου
λαμβάνειν τοὺς παρόντας σύνθημα τὸν τοῦτον
καὶ τοῦτο χρῆναι τὸ σύνθημα διαφέρειν ἐγγυτάτω
ἀγγέλου ἢ τοῦ ἄνω ἐκεῖνον ἀφικνεῖσθαι
τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἤδη. Καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἄνδρα ὁ
φίλος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον οἴεσθαι τὸν σύνθημα τὸν
σύνεγγυς ἀκούσαντα δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον αὐτὸν
3 τίνων αὐτῷ νῦν ἐπιτρέπειν. Ἦν δὲ
Ἀλέξανδρος ἄνευ τῶν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ τεταγμένων
ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, ἀποπεφευγὼς τοὺς περὶ Πτολε-
μαῖον αὐτὸν ὑφορωμένους καὶ νομίσας αὐτὸν
τε καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνων μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντας τὸν μὲν
ἀποκτανεῖν τὸν χρησμὸν ἐπιτελοῦντα τὸν
Ἰόβου Πτολεμαῖον δὲ διαφθεῖραι τὸ χρῆσ-
μα, μόνον ἐρωτᾶν τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀφ'
βαλόντα τοῦτο ἐπιτελεσθῆναι ἀκίνδυνον.

4 Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τὸν Ἰόβου τοῦ τὸν αἰτω-
λικὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν ἐκεῖ-
νον σκοπεῖσθαι τοῦτο τοῦτο. Πτολεμαῖον τὸν
ἐκεῖνα τεκμήρασθαι φάσκοντα τοῦ Ἰόβου καὶ ἐγ-

convenient, but next day he advanced a little towards the rock and ranged again.

XXV. Meanwhile some of the neighbouring tribesmen came to Alexander surrendering themselves and promising to lead him to the part of the rock which could best be assaulted whence he could without difficulty capture the position. With these men he sent Ptolemaeus son of Lagus the personal guard, with the Agrianes, the rest of the light troops and chosen men of the bodyguard, ordering him as soon as he should capture the position to hold it with a strong garrison, signalling to him that I was on hand. Ptolemaeus then pursued a rough and difficult track and scaled the place without the tribesmen's knowledge; then he strengthened it by a stockade all round and a trench, and showed a fire signal from the height where Alexander was sure to see it. At once Alexander saw the flare, and next day he brought up his army; but as the tribesmen offered opposition he made no advance, owing to difficulties of the ground. But as soon as the tribesmen saw that Alexander's advance was ineffective, they turned and attacked Ptolemaeus and his troops, and a severe battle took place between them and the Macedonians, the Indians eagerly seeking to pull down the stockade, but Ptolemaeus to keep his hold on the position. In the exchange of long-range volleys the tribesmen had the worst, and at nightfall withdrew.

Alexander, however, selected a deserter of the Indians trustworthy and what is more with exact knowledge of the localities, and sent him by night to Ptolemaeus with a letter, in which it was written

τρωτο, ἐκειλαν αὐτὸν τραπεζοειδὲς τὸ σχῆμα, τοῦ δὲ τείχους τοῦ βασιλικοῦ αὐτὸ τὸ ὄρος μόνον ἀπολειπόμενον ἐφαίνετο τὸ γὰρ ἄλλο ἅπαν ἀμφοτέρωθεν βασιλικοῦ τοῦ ἵππου ἀμφιτειχοῦντος γεγονότος. Καὶ αὐτὸς ἅμα τῷ ἕωθεν ἅμα τῇ τοῦ στρατεύματος φωνῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὰ πρανῆ ἦγε. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁπόσον ἀκόντιον ἀφεῖναι ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ ὄρους λόφον ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐφαίνετο τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον οὐ γαλεπὸν ἐν τοιούτῳ αὐτὸν τὸ ὄρος. Καὶ ξυνῆγε αὐτοὺς μὲν γὰρ οὐ μεγάλοις ξυντάγμασιν ἐπῆγεν μάχῃ τοῖς τε Ἰππέων καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιβοήσοντας ἐς τὸν τραπεζῶνα· τοὺς δὲ βασιλικοὺς ἱππέας ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τὸ Μακεδόνων ἄλλῃ ἐπ' ἄλλῃ ἰόντας· οἱ δὲ τραπεζῶν ἀναπεπταμένου μόνῃ δὴ ἀμφ' ἀλλήλοις ἐφέροντο τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ ξυνεμίγνυτο τοῖς ἵπποις Πτολεμαίου. Ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ ἀμφὶ δείλην γενομένην ἐπανῆγε τὸν στρατὸν αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τὸ στρατόπεδον· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν ἄνδρες δὴ οὗτοι ἐν τραπεζῶνι. Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοσοῦτον τέλος γίγνεται.

7 Τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ τραπεζῶνος ἁλώσει ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἐπορεύετο. Καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ὄχθης ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐπιόντες ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ χῶμα μετὰ. Διὰ τῶν τοιούτων δὲ τῶν ἐξιππευθέντων ἐς τοὺς τραπεζοειδεῖς λόφους ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ χῶμα

that as soon as Alexander himself should approach the rock Peucestas was to attack the Assacenes from the height, not entering [illegible] with missiles hurling the position so that he [illegible] attacked from both sides might be between two fires. Then Alexander at dawn moved from his camp and brought his army to the ravine by which Peucestas had ascended, reckoning that if the enemy there by war in that direction and Peucestas there the action would be a surer one. He moved it out. For so it is they there was a severe battle between the Indians and the Macedonians, these trying to force the approach, those checking as their enemy approached. But as the Macedonians kept constantly coming up detachment after detachment [illegible] the barbarians were routed from the attack with much difficulty about dusk. It mastered the ascent and joined the force of Peucestas. Thereupon the army united forces attacked again the rock itself but even then the attack failed. Thus was the close of operations that day.

At dawn Alexander bade each soldier to cut a hundred stakes; these were all cut and then he raised a great mound beginning from the top of the crest on which they had encamped up to the rock. From this armies could reach the defenders as he calculated and missiles hurled from the engines. A battle-tower was set on the mound, and Alexander himself stood by watching and appointing and one who marked cowards, but punishing any laggards.

[illegible] A slight change in the Greek would give the meaning "collected."

XXX Τῇ μὲν δὴν ὑστεραίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς ἑπτὰ σταδίους ἔλαυνεν αὐτῷ ὁ στρατός· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὑστεραίας οἱ τὰ ὀφείλοντα ἐπιδεικνύντες ἐς τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἵππων ἀσχημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μηχανῶν βέλη ἀφιέμενα ἀπιστελλὰ τῶν ἵππων τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους καὶ τοὺς χωλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀπείρους. Καὶ ἔγνωσαν αὐτῷ δι' ὀλίγου τὸ χωρίον. Τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ διαβαίνουσι τὸν Μακέλωτον οὐ πολλὰ κατασχόντα ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ Ἰασσοῦ τῇ πέτρᾳ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτὸν τὰ ἐλάσσονα σπάσαι τὸ χωμα ξυναψαι τέλεον τὸ χωρίωμα τῷ ὑπερφερεῖ δοῦναι δι' ὀλίγου αὐτῷ ἤδη κατασχεῖν.

2 Οἱ δὲ ἵππου ἔρυμα τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπερφερεῖ διαβαίνουσι Μακεδόνων ἀνελόμενοι οἱ τὸ χωμα ξυνέτρωσαν ἤδη ἐρῶντες, τοῦ μὲν στρατεύματος ἐπὶ ἀπείρητοι πεμφθέντες ἐς κρημνὸν αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔθελοντὶ ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς πέτρας οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀνεκόπτοντο. Γνώμῃ δὲ τοιαύτῃ ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ διαμάλλοντι τῶν στρατιωτῶν διαπεμπόντων τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἐς ἡμέραν διαπεπεισμένοις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτίκα πᾶν

3 Καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ ἐνόμιζεν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπίκαιρον αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαι τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ τῆς φιλοπονίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸν τοιοῦτον ἔργον. Καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ ἑξήκοντα τὴν ἀπορίαν ταύτην καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀνάλωμα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐπιτάσσειν κατὰ τὸ διαλλάσσοντα τὴν πέτραν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκροτάτων ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ ἀπομαντικὴν

4 ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. Καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποχωροῦντας τῶν βαρβάρων τρωθέντας ἀπὸ ξυντόνου, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ

XXX On the first day the army had built the mound to about a stade in length. But on the next, the slingers using their slings from the mound so far built, and the missiles flung from the engines, kept down the sallies of the Indians upon the builders of the mound. In three days the mound had covered the whole space But on the fourth a few Macedonians made a rush and held a small hill of the same level as the rock, and Alexander without a moment's delay extended the mound anxious to make it continuous up to the hill which this small party was already holding.

The Indians were amazed at the incredible boldness of the Macedonians who had seized the hill, and seeing the mound already continuous began to desist from any defence, but sent an officer to ask Alexander for a truce, and said they would surrender the rock, on terms being granted them They had formed a plan of spending the day in the delays incident to these terms and then, at night, scattering all to their own tribes. But when Alexander discovered this he gave them plenty of time for their withdrawal and for the removing of the investing patrols. Then he himself waited till they began their withdrawal, and meantime taking his bodyguards up to seven hundred to the now deserted part of the rock, he himself was the first to mount it, and the Macedonians pulling each other up, followed These then at a signal turned upon the retreating tribesmen, and slew many of them in their flight, some in the panic

ἀνάστασιν· οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ ἀνασχομένου κατὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ῥῖψαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπέθανον. ἦρχετο τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡ νίκη ἡ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἄνωθεν γενομένη, καὶ ἔθυεν ἐπὶ αὐτῇ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ κατεστήσατο φόνους παραλύειν Σισιττῷ ἐκμελλούσῃ τῆς φρουρᾶς. ἐκ δὲ Νύσης μὲν πολλὰ ἀνεμέλπετο ἐς Βάκτρα παρὰ Βήσσου, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ κατασχόντος τὴν χώραν τὴν Βακτριανὴν ξυνεστράτευε τε αὐτῷ καὶ πίστιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο.

5 Ἦρας δὲ ἐς τὴν νύκτα ἐς τὴν τῶν Ἀσσακηνῶν χώραν ἐμβάλλει. Τὸν γὰρ ἀδελφὸν τὸν Ἀσσακανου ἐξαγγέλλετο τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν προσχώρων βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ξυμπεφευγέναι· 6 ἦσαν δὲ τὰ ταύτῃ ὄρη. Καὶ ἀφικομένου ἐς Δύρτα πολίχνιον τῶν μὲν ἐνοικούντων οὐδένα κατέλαβεν οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν χώραν τὴν πρὸς τῇ πόλει· ἐς δὲ τὸν ὑπερκείμενον λόφον τὸν καὶ Ἀντίοχον τοῦτον χιλίαρχον τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐπέστησε καὶ Νέαρχον μετὰ τῶν Ἀγριάνων καὶ τοξοτῶν ἑπτακοσίων ἔδωκεν. Ἀντίοχος δὲ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ χιλιαρχίαν καὶ δύο ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἄλλας ἐκαλλύνετο δὴ τὰ τε χωρία κατοψόμενος καὶ εἴ πού τινας τῶν βαρβάρων ξυλλεγέντας ἐς ἔλεγχον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν τὴν τε ἄλλην καὶ μάλιστα ὅπῃ τὰ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἔμελεν αὐτῷ μαθεῖν.

7 Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν στρατιὰν εἶδε ἄγων, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ἀδεστοτέρα προσιοῦσα ἦν ἄνωθεν ἄλλως ὅτε τὰ ταύτῃ χωρία, ἐνταῦθα ξυλλαμβάνει ὀλίγους τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ παρὰ τούτων ἐμάθετο ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ νῦν παρὰ Ἀβισάρῃ ἀποσφάγητοι εἶεν, τοὺς δὲ ἐλέφαντας

of their escape threw themselves down the cliffs and so perished. Thus Alexander now held the rock that Heracles could not take, and he sacrificed there, and then established a guard there, appointing to command the guard Sisicottus, who had some time ago deserted from Bessus and come to Bactria; then when Alexander took Bactria he served under him and proved very trustworthy

Alexander now left the rock and invaded the district of the Assacenians. For it was reported that Assacenus' brother with the elephants and many of the neighbouring tribesmen had taken refuge in these hills. Arriving at a city Dyrta, he found none of the inhabitants there, not even in the neighbourhood of the city; but the next day he sent out Nearchus and Antiochus the commander of the guards' regiments; to Nearchus he gave the Agrianes and the light troops, and to Antiochus his own regiment and two besides. They were sent to spy out the land and to seize any of the tribesmen they might find for interrogation, especially he was anxious to find out all about the elephants.

Then he himself now went on to the river Indus, and his army was sent in advance to prepare the road, since the country here was difficult. There he seized a few tribesmen, and learnt from them that the Indians of the district had fled to Ablastus, but that

δὲ ὅτι αὐτοῦ καταλιπὸν νέμεσθαι πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ἰνδῷ· καὶ τούτους ἡγήσασθαί οἱ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκέλευσεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλεφαντας.

8 Εἰσὶ δὲ Ἰνδῶν πολλοὶ κυνηγέται τῶν ἐλεφάντων, καὶ τούτους σπουδῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ τότε ἐθήρα ξὺν τούτοις τοὺς ἐλέφαντας· καὶ δύο μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυνται κατὰ κρημνοῦ σφᾶς ῥίψαντες ἐν τῇ διώξει, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξυλληφθέντες ἔφερόν τε τοὺς ἀμβάτας καὶ τῇ

9 στρατιᾷ ξυνεπάσσοντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὕλῃ ἐργασίμῳ ἐνέτυχε παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ αὖτη ἐκάπη αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ ναῦς ἐποιήθησαν. Καὶ αὗται κατὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἤγοντο ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἥντινα Ἡφαιστίων καὶ Περδίκκας αὐτῷ ἐξῳκοδομηκότες πάλαι ἦσαν.

he had left his elephants at pasture near the river Indus. These men he commanded to lead him the way to the elephants. Now many Indians hunt elephants, and Alexander made much of such in his following. And with them he hunted the elephants, and two of them threw themselves over cliffs in the pursuit and perished, the rest were captured, and permitted riders to mount them, and were taken into the army. And finding a wood, good for felling, near the river, Alexander had it cut down by his troops, and ships built. These sailed down the Indus to the bridge which Hephaestion and Perdiccas had long since built.

APPENDIX

The Bridge or Causeway in Book IV, xxi, §§ 3 ff

Arrian usually follows his military authorities closely. Sometimes there is a suspicion that they (perhaps under orders, or from motives of flattery) magnified Alexander's difficulties. Sometimes we cannot but suspect that Arrian has not properly grasped his authorities, or tries to blend two different accounts. On the other hand, Sir Aurel Stein's identification of Aornos by means of Arrian's description, if correct, must incline us to take Arrian at his word elsewhere.

In the present passage, however anxious we may be to do so, there are difficulties.

There was a ravine all round the Rock of Chorienes; but there was only one way up the Rock. Alexander caused abundant trees to be felled: there we expect to be told that, as before the Rock of Aornos (chs. xxix–xxx), he cast the trees into the ravine, where stakes had apparently been fixed, to hem in the tree trunks as they fell, so that they formed a bridge which, being piled up constantly, became a solid causeway. Yet the stakes at Aornos are not actually stated to have been fixed, and each man cut as many as 100 stakes, possibly, therefore, the Aornos "stakes" were themselves the timber thrown in

in fill the ravine. Here however we are actually told that these trees were made into ladders by which the troops could descend into the ravine. They did so descend, and hard blows or pegs were the same work as in the Aeneas contest with its sharpest part. These pegs or stakes were to bear loads, and so were presumably driven horizontally on them were thrown bushes or bundles of wood, etc., to lodge footing earth was heaped on them, and a bridge or causeway thus formed. Questions arise. If the work was done from below why the stakes or pegs? If it was done in the narrowest part of the ravine how could so many troops half the army at a time, be used? Why no mention of brushwood or branches used to fill the ravine? Was the more level part of the ravine not its bottom? Or did it widen out beyond where its stream ran? The best answer we can give to all these questions is, perhaps, that the ravine did so widen beyond that the pegs or stakes were necessary because at its narrowest point it had only to be bridged. That the work in the wider part was done from the stakes or pegs to and was later to them. That not in the ravine, and but upon the level earth out from was thrown from above by the troops of whom only a few can have descended, and that the completed structure was thus both bridge and causeway. At Avaricum [illegible] and the ravine of the [illegible] approach was built a mound up to a height of the same height as the Roca itself.

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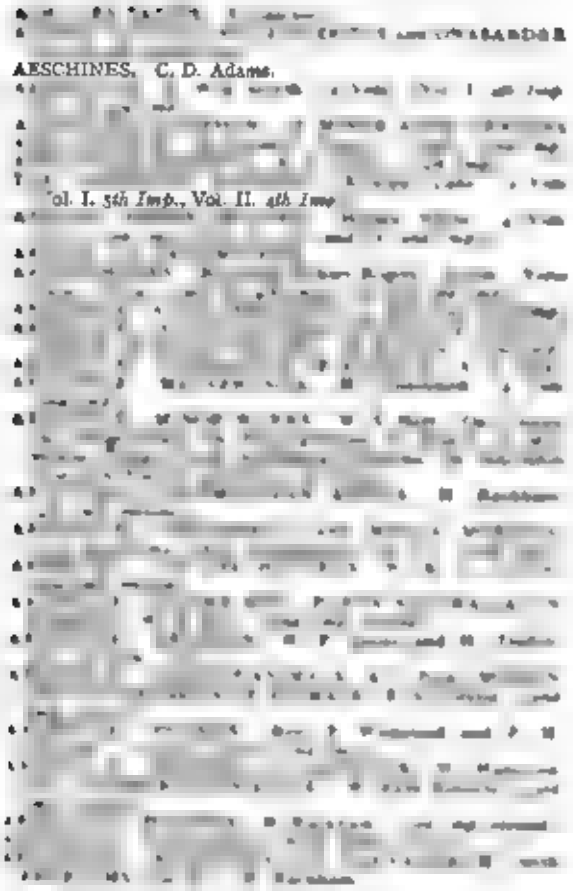

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